The Beaver

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EDWIN ERNEST RICH

PROFESSOR E. E. RICH, who died on 7 July 1979 at the age of seventy-four, more than any other scholar laid the documentary foundations of Canadian fur-trade studies. In some ways, the linking of the achievement and the individual was surprising, for Edwin Ernest Rich was first and foremost a Cambridge man. Born in Bristol, he was an undergraduate at Selwyn College, Cambridge, became a Fellow of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, was appointed Vere Harmsworth Professor of Naval and Imperial History at Cambridge University, and in 1957 was elected Master of his college. Side by side with his career of academic success went that part of his life centred on the Hudson's Bay Company Archives at Beaver House, London, which made him a familiar and respected name to many Canadian readers. When the Company made the decision in the 1930s to open the treasure-house of its Archives to accredited scholars, and to establish a Record Society to publish material from the Archives, Rich was a young economic historian whose two books, *Staple Courts of Bristol* (1931), and *Ordinances of the Merchants of the Staple* (1935), dealt with the trading activities of the English wool merchants. On the strength of this knowledge of business history, he was appointed General Editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society in 1937. From wool to furs was a bigger step than perhaps anyone appreciated at the time. For more than twenty years Rich, assisted by a small Archives staff, produced annual volumes for the Record Society, despite the competing demands of a busy life at Cambridge and wartime army service.

Working in collaboration with other historians who were responsible for the introductions, and helped by successive archivists, Rich prepared the volumes with a meticulous care and attention to detail which brought them recognition as leading examples of scholarly editing. The elaborate annotations and the appendices on posts and servants made them a magnificent research tool. Finally, Rich summarized his unparalleled knowledge of the Archives in his magisterial two-volume *History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870* (1958-9).

The *History* illustrated the nature of Rich's approach. It was the work of an economic historian, comfortably at home with the mechanics of the Company's business operations, but also alert to the interplay of issues and personalities. The reliance on documents was unsupported by firsthand knowledge of Rupert's Land, for the General Editor was tempted into only occasional, brief visits to Canada. On reflection, this balance worked to the advantage of fur-trade scholarship. There were others eager to trace the paths of the traders and explorers, to stand on the ruins of Prince of Wales's Fort, follow Ogden down the Snake River, or Simpson across the continent. These strenuous activities were not for Rich. Working in Cambridge and London, he performed the necessary and invaluable service of producing, year in, year out, those volumes which helped to set fur-trade scholarship on the course of rigorous documentary appraisal already indicated by the work of Innis and A. S. Morton.

After his retirement as General Editor in 1960, Rich continued to write on his chosen subject, though much of his time was taken up with his duties as Master, and with his editorial work on the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. No longer constrained by the bounds of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, he described more fully the French and North West Company operations in *Montreal and the Fur Trade* (1966) and *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (1968), his contribution to the Canadian Centenary Series. The keenness of his intellect, sometimes muffled by the detail of the Record Society volumes, was nowhere better displayed than in his short article, 'Trade Habits and Economic Motivation among the Indians of North America', published in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* in 1960. This stimulated a debate which is still continuing, and to which Rich added his final words in a long, reflective review written a few weeks before his death, in which he appealed to the newer school of econometric historians to remember that the fur trade 'was competitive, human, variable'. In time no doubt, Rich's articles and books will become outdated; scholars are already challenging some of his conclusions, asking new questions and finding new answers. But in the first twenty-two volumes of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, distinctive in their dark blue binding and gilt lettering, E. E. Rich has left a contribution to Canadian history which will take long to fade.

GLYNDWR WILLIAMS

Glyndwr Williams is professor of history at Queen Mary College, University of London, and a former General Editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society.

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COVER: Perennial clover (*Trifolium wormsijoldii*).
A water-colour by Elizabeth J. Stephen, 1979.

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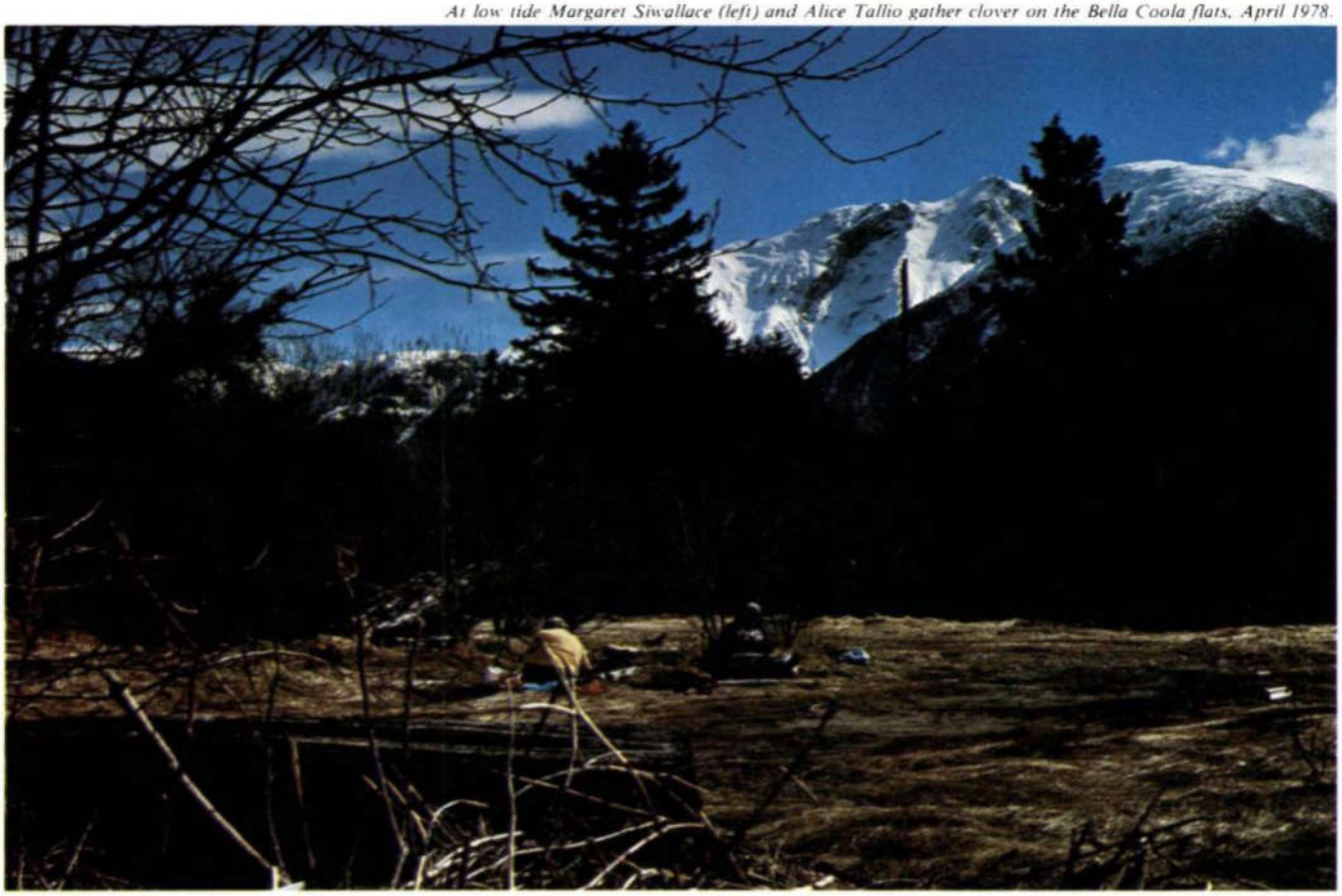
At low tide Margaret Siwallace (left) and Alice Tallio gather clover on the Bella Coola flats, April 1978.



Indian Spaghetti

by Grant Thomas Edwards

THE SNOWY AND RAINY Bella Coola mountains submerge steeply into the fjords which skirt them. This penetration of Pacific water is seldom eased by beaches. Here, hospitable land is afforded by the valley floors of short mountain rivers. The Bella Coola Indians once had their largest settlements located near the coastal mouths of rivers, at sites now called Kimsquit, Kwatna, South Bentick, and Bella Coola.

At the confluences of the Bella Coola rivers and the sea are vast acreages which are subject to the fluctuations of tidewater. The lower tidal flats, which are submerged most often and deeply, are muddy and generally devoid of plants; the higher reaches of the tide flats harbour an intriguing array of botanical life. One of several tidal plant foods collected by the Bella Coola food gatherers was the clover 'root'.

The clover 'root' is actually a rhizome, a horizontal underground stem from which the foliage and true roots grow vertically. The inhabitants of Bella Coola fondly call the roots 'Indian Spaghetti' but within scientific circles the native clover is referred to as Perennial clover or *Trifolium wormsijoldii*. This species is distributed along the north-west coast of North America. In Alaska and most of British Columbia Perennial clover restricts its habitat to the coast's tidal soils, but in the south of the province and in the northern states it ranges up to alpine meadows.

The Bella Coola people enjoyed a diet rich in protein. Their waters' salmon, seal, and oolachen, and

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The author is the first pharmacist in Bella Coola, and a history correspondent for 'The Thunderbird' newspaper. This article is based upon a lecture given at Hamburgisches Museum Für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, and Amerika-Haus in Frankfurt-Am-Main, Germany, July 1979. Bella Coola linguistics by Henk F. Nater, University of Leiden, Holland. With special gratitude to the Bella Coola elders.

Photographs are by the author, unless otherwise noted.

Clover roots are coated with oolachen grease and sometimes sprinkled with sugar before they are eaten.

Mary Siwallace holds the harvest of five hours of clover-root gathering — enough for three servings.

their mountains' deer and goat were tribal staples. Frustration with the monotony of local fresh or smoked fish and meat led to bartering for clams, abalone, herring, and seaweed from the Bella Bella islanders to the west, and moose and trout from the Anahim people to the east. Plant foods were strictly subordinate to the flesh foods in the Bella Coola diet. At least 43 types of berries, greens, cambiums, roots, rhizomes, and bulbs were eaten. Not one was a staple, but collectively plant foods provided an essential balance and welcome variety to the protein staples.

Nitrogen is the clover root's key to nutritional value. Like other vegetables, clover roots are also a good source of carbohydrates. The bulk and roughage of these fibrous roots make them an effective dietary laxative. Elders who once ate Indian spaghetti regularly recognized a feeling of well-being associated with its cathartic quality, but did not consider it a medicine.

Although clover roots can be harvested in any season, autumn is preferred. Summer roots are tough and woody to the palate, and are attached to their viable foliage and true roots. Winter offers brutal disadvantages to any soil worker, and spring roots will mature in their summer growth. Once the year's first frosts have levelled the plant's foliage, and the true roots are deadened, conditions are ideal for digging clover roots.

The Bella Coola tree with the hardest wood is the wild crabapple. Such a tree, with a crooked trunk, was traditionally of much value to root harvesters, as it could be fashioned into a durable digging stick. This tool was a hand-hold in width and about a yard long. The upper two-thirds served as a handle, while the lesser end served as a blade, and the two met as a 'heel' at an obvious angle. The blade was half-round, with its upper edge being flat, and its 'toe' sharpened.

Digging was facile. The blade was pushed into the top soil at an angle and then the handle was lowered. With the stick's heel serving as a fulcrum, a sod could be raised with ease. In more recent times metal-toothed garden hoes replaced the digging sticks. Bladed hoes and shovels proved impracticable, for their blades sliced the roots.

A single sod can house a complex community of roots. Several cues must be learnt and subconsciously recognized before a beginner becomes adept at discriminating and picking the proper roots. A mature clover root is light yellow. Unlike the true anchoring root, it is not tapered, or branched, and does not grow vertically. It is a single, generally unbranching strand, five to thirty inches long, and it grows horizontally within the first few inches of top soil. The most distinctive features are the nodes. These thickenings occur regularly along the root's length, and may bear a few short fibers (remnants of summer foliage and true roots). The nodes may introduce slight kinks to the root, so as to give it a slightly zig-zag appearance. Lady elders of the village call the nodes 'little sections' and liken them to the rings on earthworms. Indeed, if one closes one's eyes after a day's picking, long, light strings with 'little sections' can be 'seen'.

Sods were shaken to loosen roots and soil. In consideration of the next year's clover and harvest, immature white roots were returned to the earth. Older yellowish roots were picked and laid across the palm. Roots of several inches in length were cinched about the middle and tied with grass blades (and later string) once a handful was accumulated, but foot-long roots were bound at a six-inch girth. Such bundling eased handling and storage, and in the months to follow would serve in cooking measures.

Unlike showy berries and blossoms, clover roots are not easily sighted. At harvest time clover foliage is frost-bitten and obscured by autumn ground cover, and in the spring it is absent. A certain amount of sod turning and inspection is required before the roots are located, and a greater measure before one site proves more productive than others. The surface feeding of wild ducks and geese is also considered by village elders to be a good marker of roots.

The slowness of locating roots and nature's modest yield of them were surely questioned by earlier food gatherers. Speed and yield of gathering this foodstuff were important for harvest time was short and other gatherings needed tending. By collective observation and reflection gatherers realized that repeated harvests at one site produced more roots than isolated diggings. It is unknown when the harvest of clover roots became agricultural, but the practice was with the people well before contact.

Felicity Walkus of Bella Coola recalls the latest period of clover root agriculture. 'The late Mrs Joshua Moody, she used to do that in 1920s, in that little island here at Bella Coola where the tide comes in. She used to chose a place, you know, where there's soft sand. I hear she's got quite a bit of it because she was looking after it. The more you soften it, the more they grow in there. She picked the roots and she planted them, early in the spring, like April, as soon as the ground gets soft. She used that wooden digging stick, *NANITKW*, the Indians used to use. They have to have it where the tide comes in. It's got no flavour when you try to do it inland. Must be the little bit of salt that comes with the tide that makes it have the flavour. It wasn't very big what she used to have [25' x 30']. They used to have it fenced up so the people knew that it belonged to somebody. She just had a wooden fence [four top rails and posts, about four feet high]. Nobody would touch it.'

Loosening garden soil and transplanting clover roots from elsewhere in the spring, harvesting in autumn, and irrigating by tide and precipitation the year round — such was the farming of Indian spaghetti in Bella Coola.

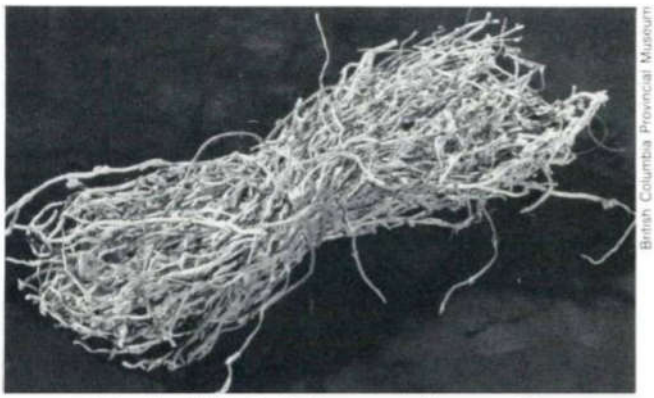
Originally and during early contact, when Kimsquit, Kwatna, South Bentick, and Bella Coola were all inhabited, the tidal flats were always within walking of the villages. Later the proximity of the tide flats changed. White settlement near Bella Coola started in earnest with the 1894 Norwegian colonization there. By World War I Christianity, education, and commerce were instituted, and a hospital was being built at Bella Coola. Since the 1860s the villages' numbers had dwindled by consumption and smallpox. The bells of church and school, the security of an amalgamated population and the hospital, and the settlers' stores attracted the people to Bella Coola. In the late 1920s the Indian agent, the minister, and Chief Sam King, of Bella Coola travelled between the villages on the agency's boat *Charles Todd* to propose centralization. Acceptance by all the chiefs led to abandonment of all the villages but Bella Coola. By then Indian fishermen and hunters had become commercial hand-loggers, fishermen, and trappers. In their new occupations the men travelled by gas boat to seasonal work camps at their old villages. Wives and children accompanied them. Included in the women's camp duties was the harvesting of clover roots. Upon returning to Bella Coola the roots were stowed aboard with fish and furs. Eventually even these contacts with the old villages passed, and after World War II, for fear of sewage contamination, the hospital staff discouraged the picking of roots at the tidal flats closest to Bella Coola. Most of today's lady elders had stopped picking clover roots altogether by 1960.

Once roots were picked their swift transfer to winter storage was a priority. Exposed roots would dry and become inedible. Although minor drying could be compensated by overnight soaking, need for this measure was avoided. Originally cedar baskets, and later cotton sugar and flour sacks, potato burlaps, and hardtack-biscuit wooden crates were used to carry the bundles of roots home.

Hazel Hans Sr recalls root transport in the 1930s. 'We went with my Dad to trap at South Bentick. Just before we went home we pick some clover roots so they wouldn't get dry. When they come home to Bella Coola they drive the boat when it's high tide, up the river to the village. First thing they worry about is to pack those roots home, and stack them away. My brother and my father would pack. Most people used wheelbarrows, and they used to have wagons and horses. Then they put the roots in the cellar.'

The Bella Coola root cellar, *NUKUSYALS*, was walled and topped with split cedar, and buried with earth. Its floor was bare soil. The clover roots were quickly removed from their baskets, sacks, and burlaps and laid on the floor neatly, bundle aside bundle. Soil carried in from the tidal flats was used to bury them. The hardtack crates were not emptied of their bundles. Rather they were lined along the wall. Their open tops were covered with tide-flat soil and then with thick coal gunnysacks discarded by the cannery blacksmiths. Buried roots required no further attention, but to keep the boxed roots moist the coal sacks were sprinkled throughout the winter.

The cellar also housed an array of old and adopted preserves. Earthen crocks, barrels, and original cedar boxes of salmon eggs, oolachen grease, and salted salmon, oolachen, cod, halibut, venison, goose, and duck filled the cellar. Sugary jams and jellies of wild and introduced fruits, and all of the fish and meats were put up in glass jars. Fresh fruit and garden vegetables were stored there also, especially apples, plums, and cherries, and potatos and carrots.



A bundle of Bella Coola clover roots. Photograph by Dr. C. F. Newcombe, 1913.

MATS'YAAX

Clover Root and Dog Salmon Stink Egg Stew

Adapted from original stone steaming and stone boiling techniques to stove cooking.

INGREDIENTS	AMOUNT
(Basic)	
(1) Clover roots (*T'XWSUS: Trifolium wormsijoldii*)	6 small bundles (3" girth x 6" long) OR 1 large bundle (6" girth x 12" long)
(2) Dog salmon stink eggs	½ (half) gallon
(3) Oolachen OR seal grease	1 to 2 tablespoonsful or to taste
(4) Sugar	3 tablespoonsful or to taste
(Optional)	
(5) Silverweed roots (*UQ'AL: Potentilla pacifica*)	Variable albeit usually a minor proportion
(6) Kinnikinnik berries (*MILICW: Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*)	Varies from minor to major proportions
(7) Male fern rhizome 'fingers' (*SQW'ALM: Dryopteris filix-mas*)	Varies from minor to major proportions
(8) Flour	2 to 3 cups

INSTRUCTIONS

(A) *Clover roots:* Untie bundle string(s). Wash in cold water several times to remove sand and soil. Boil in 2 cups water for 20 to 30 minutes. Keep pot tightly covered to allow steaming. Strain and allow to cool. Align roots and cut cross-wise into 1" to 2" lengths. Set sliced roots aside.

(B) *Dog salmon stink eggs:* Transfer stink eggs to a gallon pot. Add 4 to 5 cups (or to level of eggs) cold fresh water. Heat to simmering. Without stirring scrape bottom gently. Skim and discard surface foam as it forms. Continue simmering until eggs attain a medium 'chewy' hardness (10 to 15 minutes). Test hardness by chewing. (Hardness increases and colour fades with prolonged cooking.) Set pot aside. Do not strain.

(C) *Kinnikinnik berries:* Soak stored dried berries overnight in cold fresh water. Transfer soaked and/or fresh berries to pot. Add equal volume of water. Heat to boiling. Boil for 5 minutes. Strain and set aside.

(D) *Silverweed roots:* Wash in cold water several times to remove sand and soil. Transfer pot. Add equal volume of water. Heat to boiling. Continue boiling for 10 to 15 minutes. Keep pot tightly covered to allow steaming. Strain and set aside.

(E) *Male fern rhizome 'fingers':* Break 'fingers' from rhizomes. Wash in cold water several times to remove sand and soil. Transfer to pressure cooker. Pressure cook at 15 p.s.i. for 4-5 minutes. Allow to cool. Peel and discard skin from 'fingers'. Set 'fingers' aside.

(F) *Flour:* Place flour in bowl. Add small amounts of water and knead until a dough is formed. Roll dough into ½" strands. Cut strands to 5" lengths. Add to ½ gallon boiling water. Boil for 15 minutes or until contents float. Do not strain. (This version of the stew will be more watery than others and will require a larger serving pot.)

(G) Add cooked sliced clover roots and/or all of prepared optional ingredients to the pot of cooked dog salmon stink eggs. Add oolachen or seal grease and sugar. Thin with water as desired. Stir. Heat and serve.

SERVES 9

Fresh clover roots are steamed over a bed of fire-heated stones for half an hour. Burlap sacks replace the original cedar-bark mats as covers.

The root-cellar food most commonly eaten with clover roots was *MATS'I*, the eggs of the autumn's dog salmon. Four days of soaking skeins of *MATS'I* in fresh water loosened the ochre eggs from their connective tissue. The filigree was separated from the eggs and discarded. The latter were soaked and rinsed four or five times, and then, with fresh water, tightly lidded in cedar boxes, crocks, or barrels. This preserve was stored all winter and was known as 'stink eggs'. Clover roots and stink eggs were cooked together as a stew called *MATS'YAAX*.

When the time arrived to cook clover roots the women would number the people eating at their smokehouse, and dig a bundle of roots for each person out of the root cellar.

Clover roots were originally cooked on beds of hot rocks, either on the ground or in pits. For pit cooking, stones were aligned on the pit's floor. A fire was built over the cooking stones and allowed to burn down. Four-foot wooden tongs, pre-dipped in water, were used to pinch coals off the rock bed. Stones for ground cooking were heated in a surface fire and then removed with the tongs to form a rock bed on the ground. Roots were thrown over the hot beds and covered with woven cedar mats. Water was then splashed over the cover. The stones hissed and steam swirled off the mat and among the roots, repeatedly, as more water was poured on. A pleasant sweet smell, akin to that of corn, rose from the heat, and the roots were cooked in half an hour.

Margaret Siwallace recollects, 'I saw what my Granny was cooking one time, in 1913. She was cooking for a feast in Kimsquit, for around seventy to a hundred people. The grass from the tide flats, they washed it and put it on top of the hot rocks. Then they put those clover roots on top of it. Then she covered it with something else, and then she covered it with the sail. Now these are the sails from the sail boats. Then they throw on the water. It was quite a distance of rocks [80 square feet].

'She cooked the other stuff, what the white people call caviar, what we now today call stink eggs, with hot rocks into a cooking box.

'Now, there was another root, that was cooked overnight the night before, again on the hot rocks. And that's the one we call *SQW'ALM* (Male fern: *Dryopteris felix-mas*). Those greenish-brown little fingers, just as if it's little bananas on the root, I've heard it's supposed to be the foliage of the fern the next year. And that's eatable to the Indians. And that's the other stuff they mixed with the clover roots business. She gave a feast that night.'

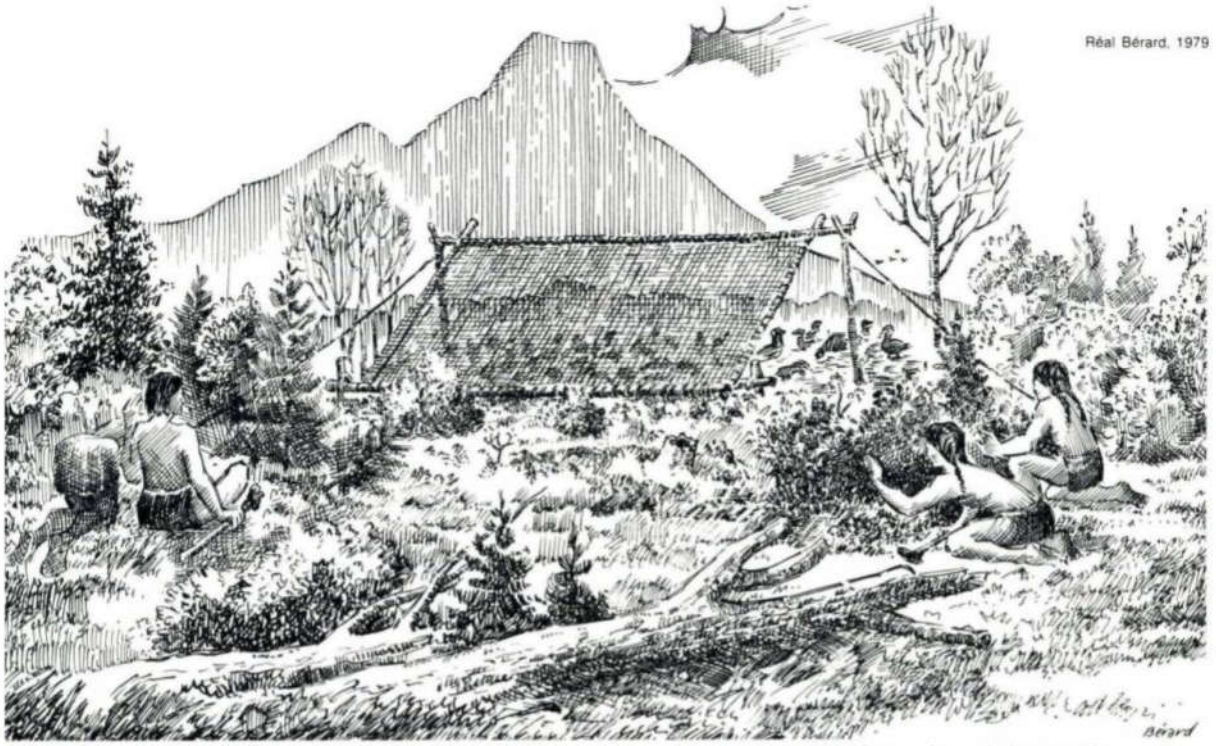
Through the years the old style of cooking has suffered many sentimental fascimiles. Stones heated in outdoor fires and on stove tops have been placed into enamel roasters and canners. Some women laid a grate of cedar sticks over the stones. Sugar and flour sacks were used in lieu of cedar mats, and have been added to with metal lids. To watch such a pot steaming on Margaret Siwallace's electric stove in 1978 was truly moving.

Clover roots have been eaten in two ways. Most simply, a pinch of whole roots was rolled between the finger tips, dipped in oolachen grease, optionally sprinkled with sugar, and eaten without utensils. The stew of dog salmon stink eggs and diced clover roots was the more exotic recipe. The simpler habit has been preferred in recent times. Elders' memories of some versions of the stew go back more than 65 years. Willie Hans Sr recalls eating the stew at several potlatches. 'Nobody used the plate you know. It was about five persons to one big bowl, and all eat and talk together inside the hall. No table, you just put them on the floor and then you sit and bend down when you eat. The people had a wooden spoon, carved and painted.'

Generally the cultivation of clover roots for home use was a feminine prerogative. This agrarian occupation enjoyed its counterpart within the masculine pursuit of hunting wild fowl. The hunters maintained clover plots as permanent hunting grounds.

No villager alive today has witnessed the original technique of garden hunting. However, *SNUXYALTWA*, a South Bentick gentleman (Born c. 1855), did hunt birds in the old way. *SNUXYALTWA* taught his sons, Dick and Timothy Snow, the original method, and in succession the Snow brothers demonstrated it to nine-year-old Willie Hans in 1926. Willie Hans Sr recalls his lesson:

'We were waiting to see our trap line you know . . .



Before contact with Europeans the Bella Coola hunters used screen traps to capture ducks in cultivated clover gardens. The traps measured 10' x 20' and were webbed to a 4" mesh with ¼" cedar-bark rope.

because that's the living for the people before the white people come. There was no rifle when they used that in South Bentick. This is before the Hudson's Bay Company came out, because that was the only way to get those ducks. As soon as the rifle came out they never use it again. They make a trap, a screen trap. It's on the ground. They call it *SCWT'UNT'UUS* [dead fall]. Those old men show it to me, a small one, how they made it. It's only about twelve inch. They use those twine, and put hiding places there, Timothy on one side and Dick on one side. Lots of fun you know. When they got those ducks they get really excited. I really liked that, that time they told me story about it. It was really a good day.'

The old men's miniature model and their dramatization of its use were supplemented with an explanation of the actual screen trap and garden hunting. In the spring the hunters would break up and loosen a plot of earth on the tide flats, and clover roots would be transplanted from elsewhere. Foliage grew, blossoms bloomed, and roots proliferated. In autumn frost would freeze the foliage and migratory birds would settle in the garden, remembering their last season's feed there.

The actual size of the screen trap was 10' x 20'. Four poles of cedar formed the frame of the trap. The screening consisted of light (¼") cedar-bark ropes strung top to bottom and end to end. Over and under weaving of the perpendicular ropes, and tying of their ends to the frame's edges with fisherman's knots, produced an effective screen with a four-inch mesh.

Once erected to its 'set' position in the garden, the screen trap resembled an open lean-to. Both ends of the long top edge were cradled in the 'Y's of two vertical support sticks. These support sticks were not bound to the soil or screen. Their bottoms rested freely upon the ground while the weight of the screen in their forks prevented the sticks from toppling.

Hemlock hiding hedges were situated to either side of the screen, and slightly behind it. These hedges were crescent-shaped, with their middles pointing toward the garden. Branches of the hemlock tree, with their ends sharpened and driven into the soil, formed the main structure of the hedges. However, hemlock greens were alien to the already frost-bitten and autumn-coloured tidal flora, so the bows were dressed with profuse quantities of dead tide-flat grass.

Concealed in this manner, the hunters at one hedge could see their partners at the second hedge. The line of sight between the hunter's eye and the feeding birds in the garden was spanned by a cedar-bark rope. With one end tied just below the fork of the support stick, and the other wrapped around the rope man's wrist, the cedar line was the screen trap's trigger.

The hunters waited patiently and silently, sometimes for hours. Eventually ducks, usually mallards, settled in the garden and upon finding the bountiful clover roots they would call out. Loud and declining 'quack, quack-quack, quack, quack-quack(s)' (feminine) and not so loud 'yeeb(s)' and low 'kwek(s)' (masculine) filled the air.

With the operation of two triggers by two rope men,

synchronization was essential. Once enough ducks were sighted feeding under the screen, a mute downward motion of a hand was given and the rope men pulled their sticks away. The screen fell. The ducks were trapped. Their necks poked through the mesh but their wings were immobilized by hand-made strands of cedar. The hunters ran out and clubbed their heads.

In 1864 Bella Coola waters were visited by the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Labouchere*. This vessel and its Captain, Herbert G. Lewis, introduced the Company's maritime fur trade to this area, and three years later their overtures were followed by the establishment of an independent outstation at Bella Coola.

The original material culture and technique of garden hunting was adapted to the new guns and metal equipment. Maintenance of clover plots remained the same but the screen trap suffered swift disuse. Modernized garden hunters no longer required two hiding hedges. One was sufficient.

The new hedge incorporated a large uprooted tree into its structure. Supine dead trunks were plentiful on the tide flats but not all were suitably located. An appropriate hedge trunk would lie within firing range of the garden, in its foreground, and within a cleared sneaking distance from bushes which grew behind it.

Sharpened spruce branches were driven into the ground, upright and along the garden side of the trunk. Dead tide-flat grass was laid over the spruce bows as camouflage.

Precautions were taken to prevent high tides from dislodging the hedge. The bulky root base of the trunk secured itself to the ground, but the slim end of the dead fall could float and move about in high water. A spruce wedge was pounded into the top of the trunk's lesser end, and ten feet away a spurred spruce pole was pounded into the ground. A taut cedar rope, tied from the wedge to the pole, would securely anchor the trunk.

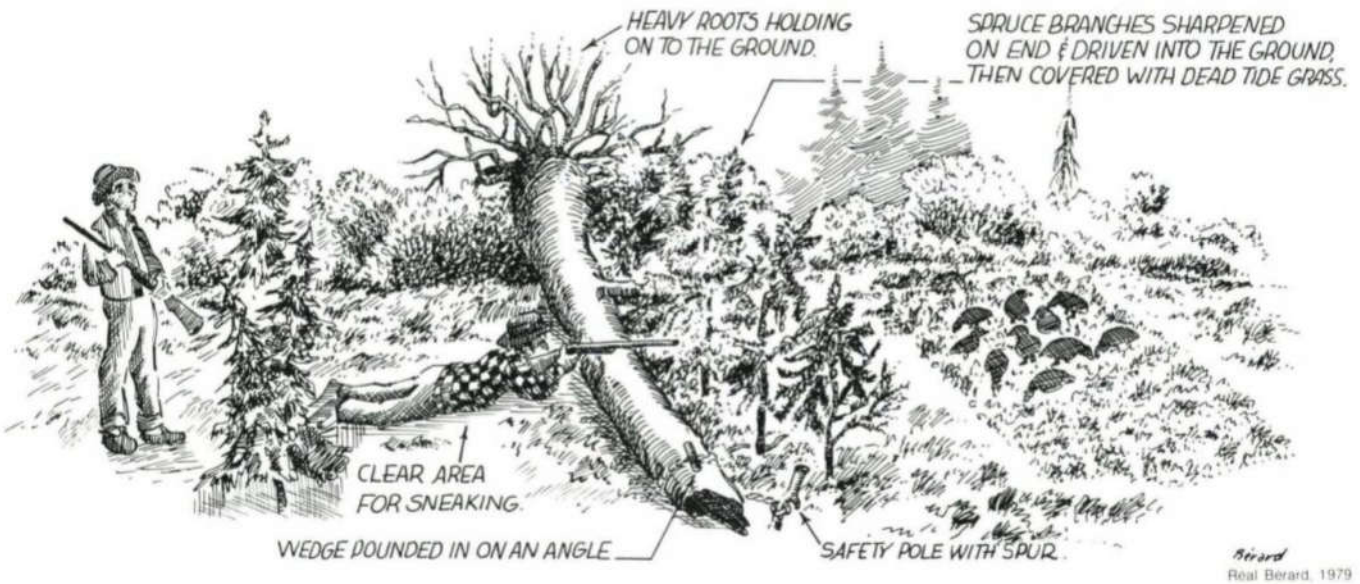
Willie Hans Sr remembers four such hunting gardens and hedges which were kept up at South Bentick in the early 1920s.

'Well, in the spring they get together, like my dad and Dick Snow's father and Willie Tallio's father, and they'd shovel the ground for those ducks and geese to have a feed . . . I used to go with my dad, Tallio Hans, and watch him. He don't allow me to go with him [to the hedge], because if I want to look around maybe they see my forehead, then I scare those ducks and they fly away. He told me "You just watch me what I'm going to do." I used to see him pack that rifle on his back and crawl on his hands and knees. He doesn't walk straight. The bullet's already on the shot-gun, double barrel. And once he reach the log, he just put the rifle up first, between the spruces. When he get the rifle up then he stretch up. He aim, and when he see where the most ducks are he puts his rifle there, whistles, and all the heads go up like . . . Bang! One shell, kills more than six, you know.'

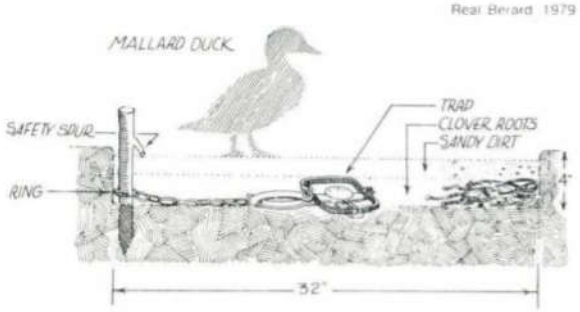
It is indisputable that the steel leg-hold trap which was introduced by the fur trade was intended for the capture of small fur-bearing mammals. With absolute disregard for such protocol, the Bella Coola hunters employed this device to trap ducks in their hunting gardens.

The riflemen's tree-trunk hedge and garden were used by these new-style trappers. During any one session a dozen traps would be set in the garden, never less than eight feet apart.

When Bella Coola hunters adopted the rifle, they continued to maintain clover gardens to attract the autumn fowl.


HEAVY ROOTS HOLDING ON TO THE GROUND.
SPRUCE BRANCHES SHARPENED ON END & DRIVEN INTO THE GROUND, THEN COVERED WITH DEAD TIDE GRASS.
CLEAR AREA FOR SNEAKING.
WEDGE POUNDED IN ON AN ANGLE
SAFETY POLE WITH SPUR.
Bérard

Réal Bérard, 1979



From 1864 until the late 1920s, Bella Coola hunters used steel leg-hold traps to catch ducks in their hunting gardens at South Bentick.

To prepare the ground for a metal trap, a circular hole, four inches deep and thirty-two inches across, was dug. The leg-hold trap was laid in the middle of the hole. The trap's anchoring chain was stretched outward along the bottom of the hole. A wooden safety pole was placed through a ring at the end of the chain and then pounded into the ground at the edge of the circle. A declined spur on the pole ensured that the chain's ring could not slip upwards. Having been anchored, the trap was set and then baited. Eight ounces of clover roots were scattered over the floor of the hole. Care was taken not to place roots over the pressure plate and jaws of the trap. The entire hole was then refilled with its soil so as to cover the chain, the trap, and the bait.

At South Bentick, in 1926, Willie Hans Sr trapped ducks in this new way, with his aunt *ALHKM'NTAM* [The Creator]. In 1979 Mr Hans tells us, 'My Auntie, she did that you know. She had no rifle.

'That trap, that's white made, the one they use for trapping martin and mink. Metal, the one that closed up. We call the traps *K'MAALHTA*. They bought them in the Brynildsen store and then Andy Christensen's store.

'We were sitting down and waiting in the bush. And when those ducks came and they find all those roots, that's where the trap is, and you can hear them, talking, when they find lots of *T'XWSUS*. It's just ducks, mallard ducks, and we call those *NAXNX* in our language. But those Canada Geese, the name for those *XAXAQ'*, they are pretty wild though.

'She put the roots right around outside, but not on the middle of the trap, because if she put them in the middle then they stick in their heads and then only the nose gets trapped, and they get away with it. And then they walk around, and then they step on the plate. Those jaws close up, and then you've caught them. The trap doesn't jump up you know, when the animal steps on it. It stays right on the ground. Then he flies up with the trap, and the ring comes up to the limb [spur] so he wouldn't get away with it you know.

'They really fight. You got to be right there and watch them. You don't just set the trap and go home. If you leave them alone too much and they break a leg, and then they get away. As soon as we see them, maybe three, in the traps, I used to see my Auntie running and I'd be running behind her, when I was a little boy. I was maybe nine years old at that time. She used a little stick to club them on the head.'

Hazel Hans Sr remembers watching her mother dress ducks in South Bentick in 1931. 'We little kids watched what they did. And then we see them take that little gut out in the bird. It opens up and then we see sand with these roots. And we asked them questions, "What's that?" And they tell us, "It's the roots." "Oh, we didn't know that they eat this stuff." we'd say. "You're not lying to us?" They said, "Don't be silly! That's what they eat when they're down there." We didn't believe them. My brother and I, we'd go down to the flats when the ducks went away and sure enough, there's some clover roots there. It's really something you know, when you first start to learn these things from your parents.'

Silverweed (*Potentilla pacifica*) and clover grow together as major species on the tide flats. Their roots were both harvested and cooked, sometimes together. The observations of Bella Coola hunters may reflect a difference between the roots in fowl diets in the environs of local tide flats. Elder Edward Tallio recalls, 'When we would go to hunt geese we found *UQ'AL* [Silverweed] in the stomach you know. These wild geese, Canada Geese, really go for these *UQ'AL*, with dark roots you know. But the ducks [Mallards], they really go for *T'XWSUS* [clover roots].'

There appears to be but one clover roots story in the village now. Margaret Siwallace passes it down:

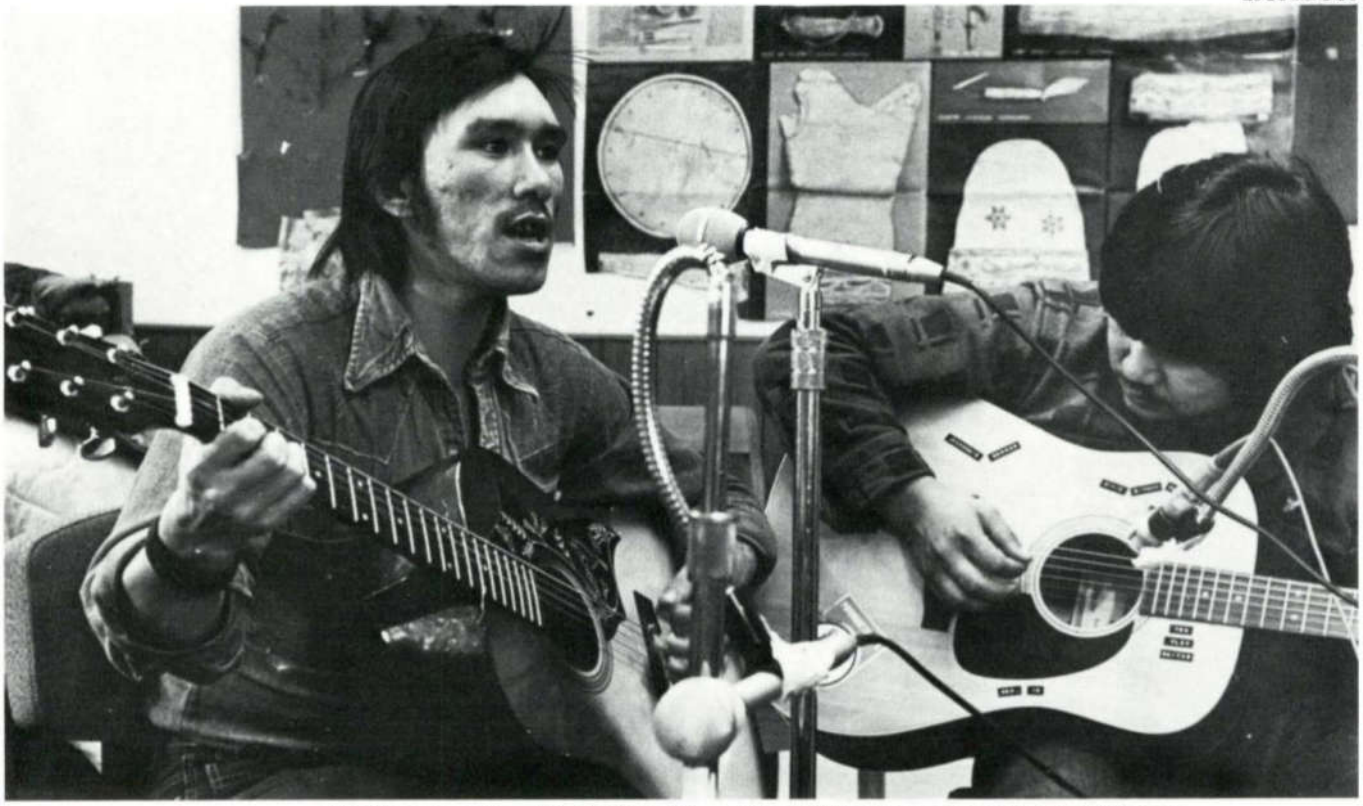
'Skookum Mary, that's my grandad's aunt on my father's side, she used to tell stories every day, and I used to like sleeping with her, as a child in Kimsquit. She used to tell me quite a few stories about the famine. It was the time when they had a famine and they didn't have anything to eat, in the winter. There was no white people at that time. They had — like a raft — a float that you can put a house on top of. Yes — *AWANAAXKW* — that's the way she said it. They were living on the sides and it was a house on top, and they moved it around. See, when the tide goes down, in the winter, then they stay there about two days. They had a fire on the sides, on rocks, you know, like a pit on the logs. There was a hole in the middle. From the heat of that house it sort of melts that spot, and that's when they dig the clover roots. And the women would go dig in that hole. When there's no more in that place, they'd move that huge float and it would stop again, and keep doing that. From the little they dig from there, that's what kept them alive — the clover roots. I tell you, Indians knew what to do, whenever they get into a tight fix. Indians share with one another whatever little food they have.' ◆

Music of the Inuit

By Sheldon O'Connell

The author is Manager, CBC Northern Service, Montreal.

Gerald McKenzie



The Sikumuit group — 'People of the Ice' — are headed by composer-singer Charlie Adams (left) with Lucassie Koperqoaluk as back-up guitar.

UNTIL RECENTLY, Inuit young people danced to the disco and rock music of the popular groups that form part of the culture of North America. Inuit teenagers in Frobisher Bay, Igloolik and Inuvik knew, not only the professional and musical backgrounds of the performers, but all the details of their social activities: their brushes with the law, with each other, with their attorneys, with their agents and representatives of the North American music scene.

In recent years, there has been a change in this pattern. There have emerged from various northern communities Inuit artists and composers — interpreters of Inuit thought which is sometimes expressed better musically. Their names and their artistry are becoming more familiar and more and more audible — through various initiatives in sound recording.

Inuit music ranges through traditional chants and throat music to country music, rock and the common disco beat. In the Arctic, music is preserved through broadcast recordings — seven-inch, long-play recordings which are easily recognized by their distinctive labels.

The Northern Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation found that tape recordings did not fully meet the developing needs of various broadcasts. Although tape recordings are a valid form of conserving and rebroadcasting music, they are not as easily accessible to radio stations as disc recordings. The Northern Service therefore sought out and recorded native musicians; it also assisted them in performing, in becoming established as musicians, and in registering as accredited composers.

COME TO OUR PLACE SINCE YOU GOT A SEAL

UVATINUT QAIGIT NATSINIRAVIT

(Tumasi Quissa)

uvatinut qaigit, niriniaranu, niriniaranu, niriniaranu.
Come to our place, we will eat, we will eat, we will eat.
inutulunga nirituaruma nirisianiangimigama
If I eat alone, I will not eat well.
aulajigama kappasunuk niqisajamik pijumasunuq.
I remember when we use to be hungry and wanted bannock.
niqituinamik ajursasunuk taimanga, taimanga, taimanga.
Wild meat was always scarce, always, always, always.
aulajigama natsisiursunu, qinasuna pijumasunu niqituinnami
I remember seal hunting, searching for our catch, not ever
takuniannanuk
finding our search for wild meat.
uvatinut qaigit qailaurit
Come to our place, come.
uvatinut qaigit niriniaranu, niriniaranu, niriniaranu.
Come to our place, we will eat, we will eat, we will eat.
inutulunga nirituaruma, nirisianiangimigama.
If I eat alone, I will not eat well.

Words and Music by TUMASI QUISSA (P.R.O. Can.)

As a result, artists from communities such as Povungnetuk, Sugluk, and Eskimo Point are now known widely across the North and in many major centres in Canada. Recently, invitations were extended to native performers to appear at the Mariposa Folk Festival and to join in celebrations marking Heritage Day. Canadian airlines were asked about including native music through their inflight music service, and responded. Passengers on many flights now hear songs by Tumasi Quissa and the vocal characterizations he brings to them, or the smoothly flowing lyrics of Alexis Utanaq and Lucassie Irqumia.

Most of the artists selected for broadcast recordings were discovered by the staff of the CBC Northern Service radio stations. The artists earn an initial payment for recording and are assisted in registering with one or another of the two performing rights societies of Canada, CAPAC (Canadian Authors and Publishers Association of Canada) or PRO (Performing Rights Organization). In this way they derive further benefits through royalties paid on the basis of their broadcast exposure. Beyond this, the artists may elect to accept a separate contract which provides direct royalties on the basis of sales of recordings. The records are pressed in quantity from the master tape and marketed through arrangements with native co-operative associations. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation receives no percentage of the profits, but directs the proceeds to purchasing instruments and costumes and to the expenses of staging and the promotion of northern musicians.

What is the response from people outside of the North to what, for some, may be an esoteric form of music?

International listeners to the CBC Northern Shortwave Service who hear portions of the domestic and northern programming have acquired an appreciation for such artists as the gifted Indian singer Alanis Obomsawin, the noted Cree composer-singer Morley Loon and the Inuit folk group of Nain, Labrador, led by Joseph Tuglavina. So enthusiastic are non-native listeners about the vitality of Inuit music that they have memorized some of the hearty lyrics composed by Tumasi Quissa and sing along with all

Fans arrive early at the Sugluc Hall to watch equipment being set up for the popular Sugluc group featuring vocalist George Kakayuk and guitarist Mark Kadjulik.

Marilyn Mercer

André Massé

Broadcast recordings by Inuit musicians are provided to all community radio stations in the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec — as well as to Canadian Broadcasting Company stations.

the fervour of Povungnetuk locals. It is now not uncommon for native musicians to consider the possibilities of full-time careers.

In the development of contemporary music expressions, it was felt that there might be neglect of the highly individualistic forms of native music such as *katajjait* — throat music — or the drum dance with all the imagery it conveys through beat and tempo and the gestures of its performers, or the ancient songs carried in the memories of older people who relay them to the young: hunting songs, animal songs, story songs, songs of derision and of adventure. On the contrary, there is a fresh approach to the traditional — to the sentiments and issues that are easier to convey in music than to debate. And these sentiments are revealed by titles (translated from Inuktitut to English) that provide only glimpses of the humour, the memories and the expectations that give distinction to the music.

'The Co-ops and the Inuit Get Together', and 'Teach Your Future Wife', Jopi Arnaituk announces in song. 'I Don't Want to See You Anymore' and 'My Relatives Have Forgotten Me' sings another.

References to travel are frequent in some of Charlie Panagoniak's compositions: 'I'm Going to Baker Lake', 'I Ran Away' and, in surprise, 'I Thought You Were Going for a Long Time'. Tumasi Quissa's buoyant lyrics tell of 'Berries, Mussels, Brush and Tundra' and of 'A Child that Cried Without Parents'. Of oldsters who advise the coming generations, he sings 'Listen to Me Because I'm Old'. He then invites a lucky hunter to 'Come to Our Place Since You

André Massé

Mattiusi Tulugak at the Quebec Pavillion. In his famous 'freeze' routine he holds the position he was in at the moment that the music stopped.

Montreal Star

Willie Thrasher of Inuvik has recorded several original northern songs including 'Wolves Don't Live by the Rules', 'Old Man Carver' and 'Silent Inuit'.

Got a Seal' and pursues the theme with another selection 'How Many Times Did You Go Seal Hunting?'

Songs of the hunt, of traplines, birds and animals figure largely in many of the contemporary songs. There are songs of the playful otter, muskrat, rabbit, lake trout, geese, bear, ptarmigan, white whale and ducks.

See the ducks on the Lake.
Look how they preen their feathers,
They skip along the water and soar into the air!

Songs of special celebrations are exemplified by the chant of the trapper returning to the settlement for the annual feast and celebration held at the darkest time of the year. As he trudges beside his sled, his anticipation mounts, the tempo of the song increases and he shakes his arms, stamps his feet and sings of the good friends waiting for him in the village. Leo Kallujaq of Whale Cove and Donald Suluk of Eskimo Point are among the leading exponents of such songs and chants.

Concertinas introduced to the Inuit by early whalers and fiddles for spirited jigs and reels still have their place in the entertainment life of northern settlements. These are part of the developing 'Heritage Collection' of broadcast recordings: these songs tell not only of the past but of the future. It was discovered, with some surprise, that the response to such music far outreached the response to contemporary expression. As a result 25 community radio stations, as well as member stations of the CBC's Northern Service, now receive recordings from the Heritage Collection that feature people who are greatly admired for their ability to recall the songs and stories of the past.

Noted performers whose humming duets of throat music may now be widely enjoyed are Mary Sivuarapi and Nellie Nunga, or Mary Nucktie and Mino Mikiyook. Throat music is a form of competition between two women who stand face to face, close to each other. Each of the women belongs to a team; the aim of the contest is to exhaust in turn each member of the opposing team. The distinctive sounds are produced through guttural nasal and breathing techniques that form part of an ancient tradition. Contestants are capable of great feats of endurance that end only when one or the other collapses in laughter or exhaustion.

An explanation of the feeling for these forms of early expression is given by singer Alexis Utanaq from Baker Lake:

'During the striving days of our ancestors the 'musicians' were very different types of people as compared to some of our modern-day composers. They were hunters, trappers and fisherman who had to survive day by day. They could face any situation set upon them anywhere and anytime — without the rifles, foothold traps or the gill nets used later. They sang and chanted of man's encounter with the polar bear or

Denise Harvey, Faculty of Music, University of Montreal

The throat singing of these Payne Bay women is preserved on a Unesco recording entitled 'Musical Sources of Inuit Games and Songs'.

starvation. The chants were sung at gatherings where the people reminisced about days and events. The expressive words in these chants vary greatly from the spoken language. The only accompaniment was the beat of the drum and the jubilant echo of the dancer.'

Alexis notes that for centuries this art was the only music apart from throat singing.

'Throat singing' he adds, 'is extremely difficult to master. There are different types that cannot be described.' He suggests it can be likened to sounds of the great rivers, the gentle glide of the gull, the crumpling of crisp dry snow or the mightly gales of the Arctic.

Willy Thrasher of Inuvik, one of the newest Inuit personalities to appear on broadcast recordings, reflects on the influence of Mackenzie Delta life on the theme of his music. He recalls how he and his father used to go whaling on the Beaufort Sea. They would buy 100 pounds of flour, 50 pounds of sugar and a can of powdered milk, coffee, tobacco and nothing else. The rest of the food — the whale, ducks, fish, geese — had to be caught if the Thrashers were to survive. He remembers that life with great fondness and sings of it in his music. Once he and other young Inuit musicians used to play for dances in their community, Inuvik. The songs they sang were similar in beat and lyrics to the Rolling Stones or other highly popular North American groups. During one intermission break he recalls an old man approached them:

'He looked at us in an intense and special way and he said "You must write songs about the North, about our people and our legends". That really stayed with me. Now I concentrate on what I really know about and feel is important and what is worth believing and remembering.'

The mysticism that may be found in Inuit culture is reflected in the titles of Thrasher's music. The imagery of the land and of the ancients is evoked in song and recitation, with a background of driving stereo sound. Willie's lead guitar belongs in the company of today's leading exponents of music — and so does the response he calls forth in the memories of other earlier times: the white bears that are no more, the spears that are put away, the wolves who turn away and howl no more. But these memories are sustained through the strength and the natural wisdom of the Inuit. They are expressed today in enduring form through the medium of broadcasting recordings. The countenances of the people of the North light up as they remember what used to be — or look forward to new experiences in a North that is forever young and changing. ◆

ART SCHADE, BUSH PILOT

By Don and Peggy Thompson

The authors are biologists with considerable northern experience and numerous scientific papers and technical reports to their credit.

Photographs are from the collection of H. A. (Art) Schade. Mr Schade, now retired from further careers as the owner of the telephone company in Sioux Lookout and as an owner and trainer of thoroughbred horses, lives with his wife Wilma in Shoal Lake, Manitoba.

IN THE EARLY DAYS of aviation history in Canada, bush pilots were the lifeline between remote northern outposts and the south. They were the everyday heros who faced and surmounted challenges that tested their skills, courage, and versatility in the line of everyday tasks. Art Schade was one of these pioneers.

Then, as now, the three routine tasks of the bush pilot were to transport mail, freight, and people across vast stretches of wilderness. Although these tasks sound commonplace, they provided the backdrop for exploits and adventures seldom heard of today.

As any pilot will attest, commercial aviation is composed of hours of sheer boredom punctuated by seconds of sheer terror. The Christmas mail flight to Goldpines, Ontario, in 1933, provided Art Schade with an example of the truth of that statement. Located 72 miles north-west of Sioux Lookout, Goldpines was a typical Canadian boom town consisting of rude ramshackle buildings built more for convenience than for permanence. The community was filled in winter with the families of prospectors who spent every summer searching for gold in the Red and Woman Lakes areas. As with most remote northern communities in those days, Goldpines depended upon the bush plane for delivery of the mail, and at no time was mail delivery more important than during the Christmas season. All the gifts had been ordered long before through the mail-order catalogue, to be delivered by the first mail plane after freeze-up. However, freeze-up in Goldpines was not a predictable event. Although the ice formed early and prevented the landing of float planes, it sometimes stubbornly refused to become firm enough to support ski planes much before Christmas. This was the situation in late December 1933 when the mail, toys, and other Christmas treats were still stacked in a hangar at Sioux Lookout awaiting the day when the ice would be firm enough for a plane to land. Finally, on Christmas Eve, Art received a message that the ice was firm enough for his run. The short, routine flight passed without incident, and as Art circled Goldpines he was encouraged to see both a Gypsy Moth that had just landed safely on the ice and the entire populace of the town waving and shouting at his arrival.

However, appearances can be deceiving. The Gypsy Moth was, in fact, stuck in a layer of slush ice and the townspeople had been trying to pull it free. What Art saw as waving and cheering was an attempt to warn him away from the dangerous ice. As the whole town watched, Art steadied his Belanca with its cargo of Christmas mail on its landing approach, made a perfect landing, and reduced his speed to taxi to a stop. However, as soon as the engine was cut, the Belanca, much heavier than the Gypsy Moth, broke through the ice and quickly began to sink. Summoning hidden strength, Art smashed through the left front window and attempted to scramble out of the aircraft. A second moment of horror hit as the sleeve of his parka caught on the window frame, threatening to trap him once more. Art wrenched it free and escaped, soaked to the knees, instants before the cockpit and its precious cargo disappeared into Lac Seul. The plane settled onto the fragile ice, suspended by its wings.

Now that he was safe, Art faced the next task — to save the plane and its cargo. From his headquarters for the salvage operation, in 'Bunty' Nichols' rooming house, Art did not have far to look for assistance; the entire town was anxious to retrieve the Christmas mail and turned out in force to help.

The next morning, the newly formed ice had to be chopped from around the plane before any attempt could be made to raise it. Long spruce poles, secured by guy-lines, were then erected on the ice and a block and tackle was installed to hoist the plane above the ice. This accomplished, a tent was erected over the

plane and a couple of wood stoves were installed to thaw it out. Jack Horne and his dog team were given the task of hauling wood for the stoves, and the fires were kept blazing for 10 days. Art was able to remove the spark plugs from the engine, drain out the water, and replace the oil. After determining that no further damage had occurred, Art retrieved the mailbags and delivered them to the postmaster, Bill Gregory. All the letters and toys were soaking wet, but the postmaster conscientiously dried out each article. Miraculously, the writing on all but one of the envelopes was legible and the letters and parcels were delivered to their anxious recipients. The toys and other Christmas parcels had not been too badly damaged by the soaking. Christmas had come at last to Goldpines.

Art Schade became a bush pilot through a series of events that began early in 1928 when Art was a grain buyer in Daysland, Alberta, with agriculture, not aviation, uppermost in his mind. His father, the local real estate agent, often told Art stories about the wealthy easterners with money to spare, who were buying up all the land in the area. Art recalls wondering why easterners always seemed to be so wealthy. Perhaps he was thinking of this subject instead of his job on the fateful day when he purchased several carloads of off-grade wheat. He was unceremoniously dismissed from the grain-buying profession and, at loose ends, decided to head east in search of riches.

Just outside of Winnipeg, he chanced to see a barn-storming pilot offering to take people up for touring flights in his airplane. Art quickly determined that a 3-minute ride would cost him $5.00, a princely sum in the summer of 1928. He decided not to take the flight, but to invest his money in flying lessons; any business in which he could earn $5.00 in 3 minutes must surely be a good one!

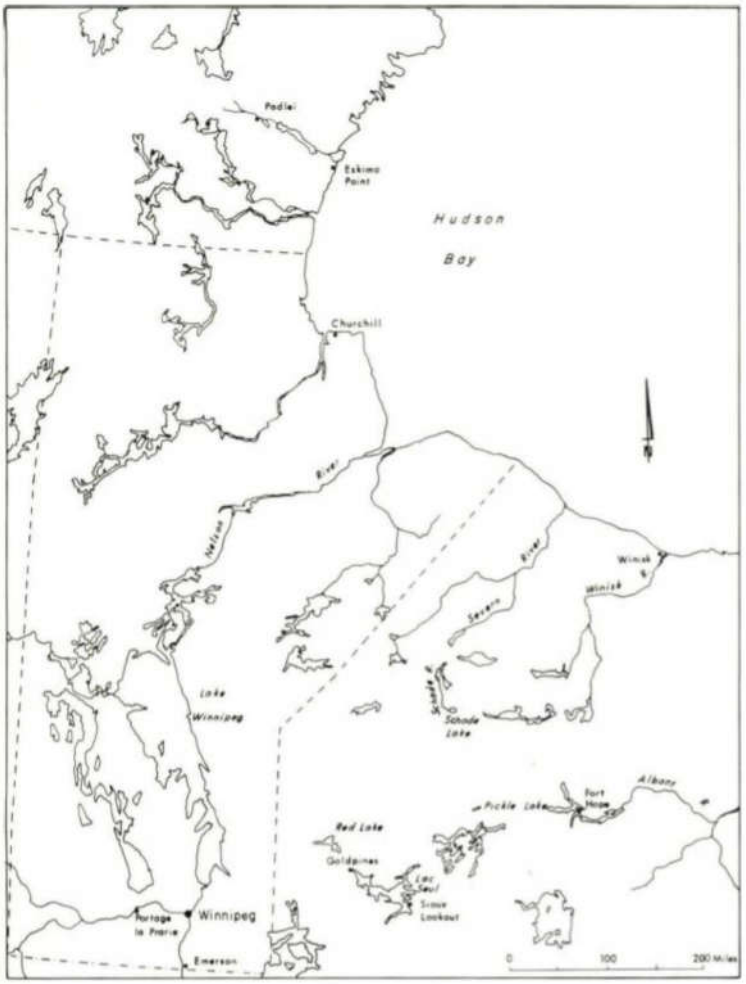
He immediately enrolled in the flying school conducted by Western Canada Airlines at Stevenson Field just outside of Winnipeg, becoming part of the first civilian class. Under the tutelage of A. Cruikshanks, Art soloed after eight hours of instruction. On 28 August 1928, with 50 hours of solo flight under his belt, Art graduated and received his wings.

Leigh Brintnell, the Western Canada Airways manager, had been so impressed by Art's skill and enthusiasm that he hired the freshman pilot immediately. Art's first job consisted of local flights and training of student pilots. Art soon set himself apart as an aviation pioneer, although some would say his enthusiasm got the better of him!

A cross-country flight had been scheduled for a cold day in January 1929. Art left Stevenson Field at mid-day in a DeHavilland Moth aircraft and made an uneventful flight to Emerson, Manitoba, landing on the river. The cockpit of the Moth was unheated and

Pilot Art Schade and his Belanca, prior to his flight into Goldpines, Ontario, 24 December 1933.

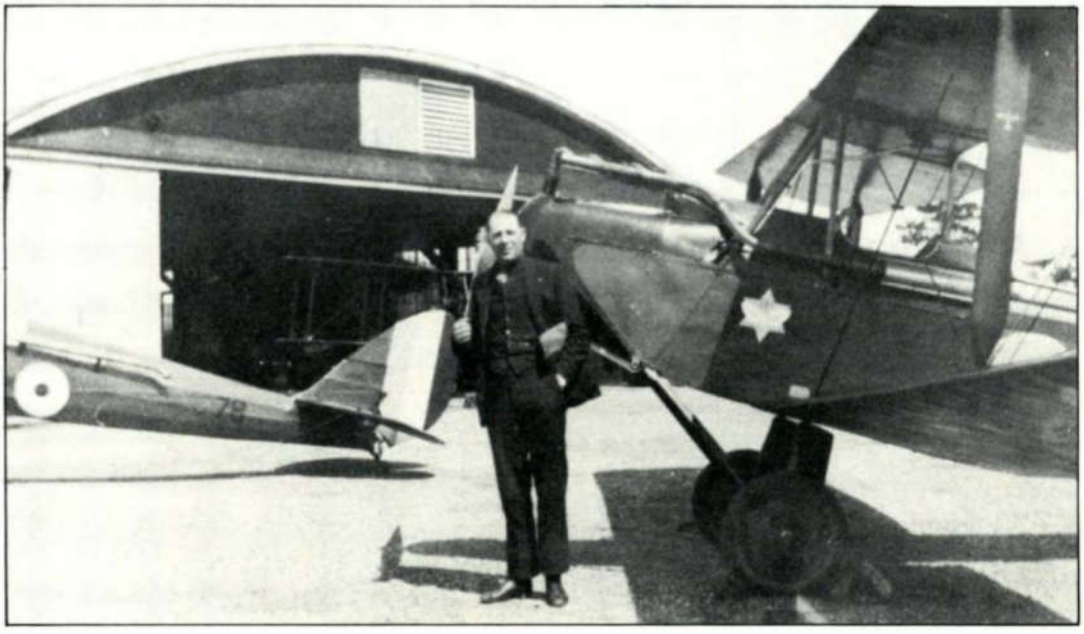
Hours later, at Goldpines, Pilot Schade escaped through the front left window (marked 'x') before the cockpit and cargo of mail disappeared into Lac Seul.



Art, thoroughly chilled, decided that a hot cup of coffee was much more appealing than immediately proceeding to Portage la Prairie, the next leg of the journey. However, by the time he had returned from his impromptu coffee break, the intense cold had congealed the oil in the Moth's engine, making it impossible to start. Luckily, Art was carrying a blow-pot heater for just such contingencies. He was able to heat the engine, thaw the oil, and eventually restart the engine. This procedure had naturally caused considerable delay in the trip, but otherwise everything was in order and he proceeded uneventfully to Portage la Prairie, again landing on the river and again requiring a coffee break to warm himself before returning to Winnipeg. In deference to the cold and lateness of the day, the coffee break was short and, on returning to the Moth, he was able to start the engine easily. By now darkness had set in.

Night flying was virtually unheard of in early 1929; indeed, Art could not recall ever hearing of any pilots flying at night. Certainly, he himself had never flown after dark. However, he had never been told he could not fly at night and he did not see any reason why he should not, particularly when the weather was fine and the moon was bright. Having decided to proceed, Art took off, followed the bright ribbon of the Assiniboine River to Winnipeg, and completed his flight uneventfully, arriving over the city at 9:30 p.m. Winnipeg glowed beneath him; thousands of lights twinkled and shimmered in the clear night air. He was so awe-struck by the sight that he circled the city several times just to enjoy the spectacle before

A DeHavilland 'Moth', similar to the one that Art Schade took his training in at Stevenson Field outside of Winnipeg in 1928.



beginning his descent. The contrast of the white, snow-covered river and the dark, shrub-lined shoreline made his final approach and landing notably uneventful. Art had had an enjoyable flight and thought that night flying was a great idea. However, on taxiing up to the Western Canada Airways dock at Brandon Avenue, he was shocked to see a crowd of people. They had heard the plane in the night and had come to see the crash! Leigh Brintnell and Department of Air Transport officials had also heard the plane. They apparently did not agree that night flying was a good idea and Art was immediately suspended for dangerous flying. However, a subsequent investigation concluded that Art's flight had not been conducted unsafely and he was reinstated. Ironically, his pioneering flight, one of the first civilian night flights in Canada, had been rewarded with a three-day suspension and a solemn promise never to repeat the escapade. Art's foresight was vindicated by the fall of 1929 when, with the start of the prairie air mail flights, night flying became a relatively commonplace occurrence.

It was shortly after this episode that Art was transferred to the Western Canada Airways base at Sioux Lookout, Ontario. In the early 1930s, Sioux Lookout was the aviation centre of central Canada. The planes and pilots based at Sioux Lookout formed a vital transportation link for the mining towns, trading posts, trappers, and prospectors sprinkled throughout northern Ontario and Manitoba.

It was at Sioux Lookout that Art began his career as a bush pilot. Most of the flying consisted of routine transport of cargo, mail, and people throughout vast stretches of country that lacked navigation aids, airports, and accurate maps.

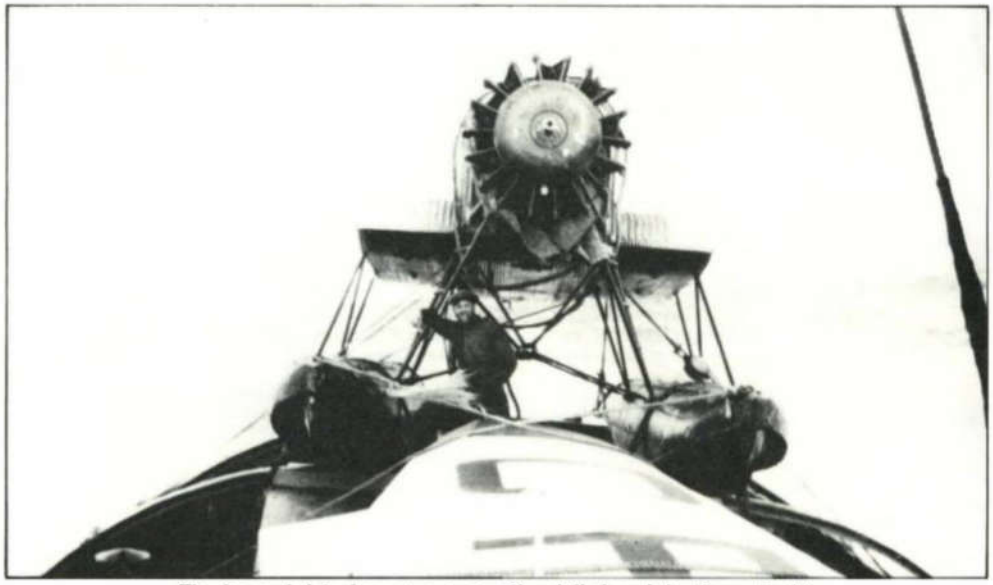
In September of 1933, Art was hauling freight from Churchill, Manitoba when he received word that he was to proceed to Eskimo Point, 180 miles north of Churchill along the west coast of Hudson Bay. There a tremendous tonnage of cargo had been offloaded from the Hudson's Bay Company's freighter *Nascopie*. This cargo represented a year's supply of trade goods and was destined to be transported to the inland trading post of Padlei. Western Canada Airways had assigned their new Junkers 52 monoplane, piloted by Buck Buchanan, to the task. This was, at that time, the largest single-engined airplane in the world and was nicknamed the 'flying boxcar'. However, to complete the transport of goods prior to freeze-up, Art and Ted Stull were ordered to fly their smaller Junkers cargo planes to assist in the transport operation.

The operation proceeded normally and smoothly, despite the fact that the three aircraft were operating in open tidal waters without docking facilities of any kind, and the landscape provided not a cliff or tree for miles around to break the force of the wind. By 15 September the transport operation was scheduled to be completed the following day; the inland lakes were already frozen over and gales from the north-east sweeping across Hudson Bay provided a forewarning of winter weather. Well over 200 tons of freight had been moved and only two more trips remained when the pilots anchored their planes for the night.

A slight wind was blowing from the south-west, a most unusual direction, but by 9:00 p.m. the wind had

In 1933 trade goods were transported inland from Churchill to Padlei by cargo planes. Here Pilot Schade is shown with his Junkers on the tidal flats at Churchill, Manitoba.

Repairs on the 'flying boxcar' were carried out at low tide. Flattened stove piping was used to sheet the floats.



The dismantled Junkers returning to Churchill aboard the 'Ocean Eagle'.

shifted to the north-west, an onshore wind, and had begun to gather strength. By 4:00 a.m. the storm had reached gale force with winds of 55 to 60 m.p.h. The anxious pilots mustered on the shore in the darkness. As they arrived, the 'flying boxcar' broke her anchor chains; the auxiliary anchors were too light to prevent the plane from being blown onto the rocky shore. The pilots rushed to the plane as it was being pounded on the rocks and clambered aboard as best they could in the darkness and blowing cold. The engine was started and the plane was taxied to a small shelter two miles away and beached. By this time dawn had broken and the tide had begun to fall. When they returned to Eskimo Point, fighting the storm all the way, Art's airplane had begun to move. A desperate attempt was made to reach the plane; but because of the heavy sea, the attempt failed. Art's Junkers was plainly drifting towards the second Junkers, slowed only by her dragging anchors. When only 20 yards separated the two planes, the anchor ropes on Art's plane gave way and it smashed into the other Junkers. The men successfully braved the waves as they rushed to the second Junkers to prevent further damage. The wreckage of Art's plane was eventually beached.

The storm continued to rage the following day, so much so that it was not possible to reach the planes again. However, by 17 September, the storm began to abate and the wind subsided to 35 m.p.h. The three pilots began to assess the situation. The floats of the 'boxcar' had been so badly damaged that, initially, the pilots entertained no hope of being able to make even rough repairs. The right float was battered, with 75 per cent of the underside being dented, gashed, and torn; the step was pushed in; and the third compartment from the rear contained unexpected cargo, a 150-pound boulder.

The task of repairing the huge machine looked hopeless. The plane, which weighed approximately 10,000 pounds, was resting on the badly damaged floats and there were no cranes, derricks, or any facilities with which to lift such a weight. The only hope was to dig a trench under the float. Their work could proceed only during the low tide but, because each high tide would fill the trench with silt, excavations were required to clear the trench before each stint of repairs. Moreover, one man was completely occupied bailing out the water which constantly seeped into the hole. The remainder of the group concentrated on drilling the underside of the float to apply the patches. Material with which to patch the massive floats was in scarce supply and although each pilot had brought a certain amount of metal and canvas for repair work, the damage was much more extensive than they had been prepared to face. Fortunately, the local Hudson's Bay Company store carried a good supply of stove piping which could be flattened out and used to sheet the floats.

The initial attempts at patching the floats were not very successful since the patches failed to be even remotely water-tight. The suggestion of a local resident, to use sealskin as a gasket between the metal of the patch and the metal of the float, proved to be the key to effecting the repairs. The combination of ingenuity, hard work, and mutual co-operation had paid off. By the morning of 24 September the floats had been adequately repaired and pilot Buchanan was able to fly the 'boxcar' back to Churchill.

Art's Junkers now became the centre of attention. It had been damaged well beyond their ability to repair at such a remote location. However, good fortune smiled on them once more. The tug *Ocean Eagle* had happened by on her way to Churchill for the winter. It was decided that Art's plane would return to Churchill via sea, on what might have been the North's first improvised 'aircraft carrier'. The captain of the *Eagle* told Art that he could not bring his ship closer than four miles in to shore since the shallow, rocky waters had not been charted. Moreover, the lifeboats on the *Eagle* were much too small to transport the crippled Junkers.

The solution was not for the tug to come to the plane, but for the plane to go to the tug. Fortunately, the floats of Art's plane were relatively undamaged; he decided to attempt to float the airplane four miles out to sea to load her aboard the tug. Art began dismantling the Junkers in preparation for the trip. Both wings were removed and lashed to the fuselage, and the propeller was removed. A borrowed outboard motor was attached to the undercarriage of the plane and Art set sail for the *Ocean Eagle*. The trip was accomplished without incident and Art returned to Churchill with his plane perched on the back of a tug boat.

One of the routine flying tasks to which Art was assigned during his days at Sioux Lookout was the scheduled mail run to Red Lake, a gold-mining town north of Sioux Lookout. The regular mail run of 12 March 1936 was, however, anything but routine. Art, who had by then accumulated over 5,000 flying hours, was returning from Red Lake with the mail. He had also stopped at the Hudson Patricia Mines on the return trip where he had picked up three passengers, Russell Broley, Tony Rown, and Albert Pace. Some distance north of Sioux Lookout, Art began running into low clouds and snow. In those days, the sophisticated navigational equipment which allows today's airlines to fly high above the clouds was not even a dream. Therefore, Art was forced to reduce his altitude and stay below the clouds to maintain visual contact with the ground. The gas gauges in the Fairchilds 71 aircraft which he was flying were notoriously inaccurate. The gauge on the fuel tank which was currently feeding the engine read below one-quarter. To guard against the possibility of running out of fuel during the critical last seconds before landing, it was common practice to switch to the fullest tank prior to landing. Thus, five miles before reaching Sioux Lookout, Art reached down and moved the fuel selector lever to the full reserve tank. Then it happened — unbeknown to Art, the fuel line from the second tank was blocked. The engine, starved for fuel, stopped, and Art was faced with making a forced landing.

The reduced altitude had robbed Art of the luxury of being able to glide the plane to a safe landing on Lac Seul, some distance away. He had no option but to hit the trees below. He instructed his passengers to brace themselves and tried to manoeuvre the big plane over the tall trees toward a slight opening in the forest. Events followed with blurring rapidity. The right wing struck a large tree and was ripped off. This impact caused the plane to tumble in mid-air at least twice before it finally fell right side up in a small clearing.

Miraculously, Art was not injured by the crash. In several seconds when the shock had worn off he began to tend to his passengers. Although badly shaken, neither Mr Rown nor Mr Pace were injured. Mr Broley, who had braced himself during the final seconds by holding onto either side of the aircraft, had

The remains of Schade's Fairchild 71, after crashing at Lac Seul, 12 March 1936. In the foreground is the toboggan used to rescue the injured passenger, Russell Broley.

had both his arms forced out of their sockets by the impact. After building a fire and making the passengers as comfortable as possible, Art set out on snowshoes for Sioux Lookout. The crash had occurred only five air miles from town but Art was forced to fight his way through deep snow in the woods to the shore of Lac Seul and then follow the winding lakeshore back to town — a total distance of over eight miles. He covered the distance in about two hours, walked into the office of Western Canada Airways, reported the crash, climbed into another airplane, and arrived back at the scene of the crash in little over two and a half hours from the time he had left. The three uninjured men loaded Russell Broley on a small toboggan, dragged him back through the bush to the plane and completed the scheduled flight. Mr Broley was taken to the Sioux Lookout hospital and subsequently made a full recovery.

Not all flights began as routine runs. Occasionally, emergency messages were broadcast over the radio waves of the North, and bush pilots responded to the call. One such desperate message was transmitted in December 1938 from the remote outpost of Winisk; an amateur radio operator heard the call by a stroke of luck. An Indian man, caught in a fierce winter blizzard, was badly frozen and a plane was desperately needed to transport him to hospital.

Art, by now a seasoned bush pilot, responded to the call for help. In December 1938, a trip of 600 miles north-east from Sioux Lookout to Winisk, at the mouth of the Winisk River on the west coast of Hudson Bay, was not a simple jaunt. The route would run over isolated muskeg and brush. The only available maps, at a scale of 39 miles to the inch, were woefully inadequate, and recognizable landmarks were few and far between, especially in winter. Indeed, there was a stretch of about 300 miles where he would not see snowshoe tracks or any sign of human habitation. However, Art had long since learned how to prepare for such trips. The paramount factor was to carry adequate supplies of gas and oil in the cabin of the plane. As well, in case he was forced down by bad weather, he carried small stoves, a portable radio, a good supply of staple foods — bacon, flour, beans, tea, and honey — and guns and snares for catching rabbits.

On this occasion, Art decided to enlist the aid of radio operator Earl Johnson. Despite the urgency of the situation, two days were to elapse before weather conditions allowed them to depart. At 3:00 p.m. on 21 December 1938, the small Junkers W-34 headed north. Early winter darkness closed in, forcing them to stop for the night at Pickle Lake. Early in the morning gloom, Art took off and again headed north-east to Winisk, the scene of the tragedy.

The badly frozen man was a survivor of a party of two Indian families consisting of two men, two women and six children — one a baby in arms — who had been heading north up the bleak west coast of Hudson Bay to spend Christmas at the H B C post at Winisk. To make better time, they were travelling light. However, several unexpected delays had exhausted their supplies. Within eight miles of Winisk, they reached a critical decision: one man would travel alone to the post to obtain supplies while the rest of the group camped and awaited his return. After he had left, the deceptively good weather encouraged the group to break camp and continue their journey. At noon, the blizzard struck. Immediately, the barren coast was engulfed in that condition most feared by travellers — a white-out. Taken by surprise, the group

was caught without adequate time to improvise shelter. Desperately, they tried to get inland to the small brush and scrub which would provide limited shelter, or at least a fire. They never reached the shore.

Late that night when the blizzard had abated, the Indian man who had travelled to Winisk was able to return with supplies to his camp, only to find that the group had moved. He immediately enlisted help from Winisk to search for them. Three days later, the huddled figures were located crouching behind jagged cakes of ice. The two women, the baby, and the five-year-old child they held were frozen to death; the other four children, protected by the women's bodies, had survived. The man, who was found near by, was badly frozen — his nose, ears, fingers, toes and one knee were black and one leg might have to be amputated. The rescue party struggled back to the post at Winisk with the survivors and bodies, where H B C Manager R. B. Carson and Roman Catholic priest Father Baudette gave them the best treatment they could. However, it was obvious that the partly-frozen Indian man would not survive without adequate medical attention. It was then Mr Carson had broadcast his message for help.

After two hours on his way to Winisk, Art realized that he must land to refuel from the gas he carried on board. They had travelled 270 miles from Pickle Lake, with the assistance of a good tail wind. A suitable lake was soon located, the ski-equipped plane landed, and the tanks were quickly refilled. The remaining miles slipped away.

Upon arriving in Winisk, they faced another hurdle. No airplane had ever landed at Winisk in the winter-time. In the summer, the river provided landing space for float planes but in winter the river ice was too rough for a ski plane to put down safely. Art radioed his predicament to the Hudson's Bay Company's manager and started looking for a suitable landing field. A small 'pot-hole' was located about half a mile behind the Roman Catholic mission. Although the small lake was barely long enough for a safe landing, Art drew upon all his skill and brought the plane down successfully. It stopped so close to the scrub on the shore of the lake that several trees had to be cut down before it could be turned around. The small Junkers was soon surrounded by an enthusiastic welcoming committee consisting of the two priests, the Hudson's Bay Company's manager, his wife and employees, and a host of Indians.

Because the impending winter night prevented their immediate return to Sioux Lookout, they made preparations to spend the night. The airplane was jacked up on blocks and covered with a tarpaulin to protect it from blowing snow; the oil was drained and taken in a large tub to the manager's house to prevent it from freezing. Plans were made to return to Sioux Lookout early the next morning. However, continuous heavy snow and a low ceiling put off their departure for two days.

During the period of being weathered-in, Art and Earl Johnson, the radio operator who had accompanied him, were called upon to assist in the burial of the Indian women and children who had frozen on the ice. Because the women had been crouching to protect the children from the cold, they had frozen in this position and their bodies could not be straightened for burial. Consequently, the graves, dug with pickaxes in the frozen ground, were of irregular shapes.

At 9:20 a.m. Christmas morning, Art, Earl, and the critically ill Indian man finally departed. Within 50 miles they ran into thick, low clouds and heavy snow and again, Art's experience served him well. He had learned to fly low even in good weather to become familiar with the country and memorize what few landmarks he could see. Now, forced into flying low by the poor weather, and with little help from his compass or the inadequate maps, he drew upon his knowledge of the terrain to pick out scanty landmarks to guide him south-west. However, fighting the head wind associated with the storm slowed their progress and quickly used up their fuel. During a refuelling stop at Wedequey Lake, they used the last of their gasoline to fill the tanks. An hour and a half later, as the head wind continued to gnaw at the progress of the little plane, Art decided to abandon the attempt to reach Pickle Lake that day. He turned south-east to Fort Hope on the Albany River, knowing that the Hudson's Bay Company kept an emergency stock of aviation fuel. With the early winter darkness closing in and his gasoline gauge reading nearly empty, Art landed at Fort Hope. The arriving trio were met by the H B C manager, who provided food and shelter for the night. The next morning, with adequate gasoline, they completed the trip to Sioux Lookout. The patient was delivered to the hospital for treatment, but died of his injuries three weeks later.

At 8:30 a.m. the next morning, Art took off for another routine flight in the rough bush country.

Art Schade's flying career spanned 20 years; he began with Western Canada Airlines and moved with the airline as it became part of Canadian Air Ways and later, Canadian Pacific Air Lines. He started as a pilot, then became chief pilot and, in 1942, assistant superintendent of the Central District of Canadian Pacific Air. By the time he retired from active flying duties in 1948, he had accumulated approximately 10,500 hours of flying, much of it as a bush pilot. On 6 August 1974, Art Schade's contribution to Canadian aviation was officially recognized by the Manitoba Government when Schade Lake, Manitoba (lat. 52° 39', long. 101°21') was officially named after him. A Schade Lake and Schade River in Ontario also bear the name of this Canadian air pioneer. ◆

The Wisdom of the Elders

By Barbara Schmidt

The author is a Chilliwack journalist.

Coqualeetza Education Training Centre

Drums accompany the playing of slakal — the bone game — while teams of youngsters compete.

Indian elders and school children on a field trip to the Weaver Creek spawning channel near Chilliwack. The life cycle of the sockeye is studied in the food unit of the program.

Coqualeetza Education Training Centre

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO in almost any Indian village children flocked around their elders, learning the traditions of their people. Though the coming of Europeans changed that custom, today the native elders are again being called on to teach. The difference is that this time it is both Indian and non-Indian children who are learning the ways of the elders.

In October 1974, a native elders' group was formed at the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre, an Indian cultural centre located at Chilliwack in British Columbia's Fraser Valley.

The older members of the Upper Stalo bands met weekly to share their experiences and stories, and soon realized that the history and customs of their people were in danger of being lost. The young native people knew almost nothing of their heritage. If the Upper Stalo people were to retain their culture it would depend upon the elders. They approached the local school boards and within a few months 'Stalo Sitel' was born.

Stalo Sitel (written Sto:lō in the traditional native Hal'qemeylem language) is an elementary school program, being developed for inclusion in the social studies curriculum in grades 1 to 7. Stalo Sitel units are now being tested in four Fraser Valley school districts and it is hoped that the units may be offered some day at all schools in the area inhabited by Upper Stalo people. Plans are to expand the program to include junior and senior secondary students as well.

Curriculum co-ordinator Shirley Leon and Indian education co-ordinator Jo-anne Archibald say that, while there are several staff members responsible for assembling the program, it is the elders who decide what is to be included in each unit. During the year Indian and non-Indian students can be seen wandering through the Fraser Valley woodland with the elders by their side.

In the classroom, children make traditional Stalo food, play Indian games and learn native handicrafts.

B. Schmidt

Co-ordinators Shirley Leon and Jo-anne Archibald sort through the material being prepared for a new Stalo Sitel booklet.

Colouring books, songs and stories are among the teaching aids used to acquaint youngsters with the basics of the Hal'qemeylem language.

Preservation of the Stalo culture is not the only reason for the native people studies program. Jo-anne Archibald explains that the drop-out rate among native students in public schools is high. Efforts to keep the children in school are sometimes frustrated by books and school curricula that degrade the Indian culture and history. 'Both native and non-native students have developed a negative attitude toward Indian culture', she says.

Stalo Sitel representatives are optimistic that, when their program is complete, Indian students will once again be able to participate in a learning experience with which they can identify. They believe that the program is good preventative medicine for the ills of Indian society: the high numbers on welfare or in institutions. The federal department of Indian Affairs has made a commitment to fund the program during the 1979-80 fiscal year.

B. Schmidt

Illustrator Peter Lindley draws the items and scenes described by the elders.

While the Stalo Sitel program looks good on paper, the proof of its value is in the classroom. Response from youngsters to Stalo Sitel lessons has been overwhelmingly positive. When class is dismissed and the elders are ready to leave, they are bombarded by students wanting to know when they will return. Apart from the learning involved, Stalo Sitel is designed to be fun. The children learn by doing and enjoying.

Throughout the development of a unit, the native elders keep close control of the program material. Original information is gathered from their meetings, transcribed and then sent back to the elders for correction. This process can include up to half a dozen meetings before material is ready for inclusion in Stalo Sitel.

Photographs of traditional goods and activities are difficult . . . sometimes impossible . . . to find. The program illustrator will sit for hours listening to the elders describe a scene or artifact. He will then try to draw on paper what the elders have etched in their memories. After several attempts he will have an accurate picture for Stalo Sitel.

Indian ice cream is whipped up from wild soapberries, water and sugar — with a little help from modern technology.

Coqualeetza Education Training Centre

At this point ten units have been developed, though teachers are not asked to commit themselves to using all of them. Ideally one or more units will be worked into the social studies program at each grade level.

The ten units cover the gamut of Indian life and history. The food unit equips students with the skills to identify and classify plants according to their traditional uses. They learn the Indian techniques for preparing meat and plants for the table, and may have a taste of barbecued salmon and bannock bread.

Other units include studies of traditional shelters, modes of transportation, art, music, and games. Students also look at contemporary Indian people, examining how they fit into present-day society.

The Hal'qemeylem language is given special emphasis in the Stalo Sitel program; with lessons for all children from kindergarten to grade 7.

Until very recently the traditional language of the Upper Stalo people was in danger of dying with the elders. Very few, if any, younger members of the community knew even the basics of the language. The Coqualeetza Education Training Centre, with the help of the elders, has now compiled a complete written grammar and mini-dictionary that establishes the language in writing for the first time. That, with the introduction to Hal'qemeylem taught in Stalo Sitel, should ensure its preservation.

Children in the public schools are not expected to master Hal'qemeylem — an extremely difficult language — but they are taught the basics of the grammar and learn simple sentences and phrases.

At the end of each unit, students and teachers have an opportunity to evaluate the lessons. During the 1977-78 school year the native studies program was taught in 14 schools and 56 classes to a total of about 1,000 students. Though it has been offered only a short time, the program is beginning to show some results. Stalo Sitel workers have already noted a change of attitude among both Indian and non-Indian students.

'There are times we've gone into classes and felt like museum pieces. That was how many of the other kids saw us', the Indian children say. After exposure to even a few Stalo Sitel units, the non-Indian youngsters are developing a more realistic approach to the Indians and their culture.

The importance of preserving Indian culture has been recognized in other areas of British Columbia and programs similar to Stalo Sitel are being developed in several northern and Okanagan school districts.

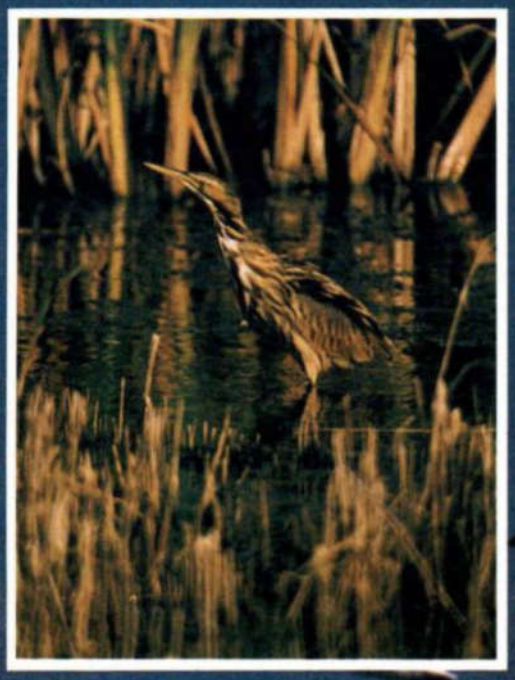
Throughout the province, Indian and non-Indian people are beginning to realize . . . almost at the 11th hour . . . that something must be done to preserve Indian culture and heritage. Otherwise, the wisdom of the elders will be lost forever. ◆

the Marsh

Photographs and Text by Joyce and Len Holmes
of Winnipeg

A marsh is a place of beauty in all seasons. In autumn, at Oak Hammock Marsh north of Winnipeg, the sight and sounds of large flocks of geese and ducks are a thrill to be long remembered. It is a time of joy and a time of sadness as the birds make ready to fly south. Then all is silent. The birds are gone and winter invades the marsh.

American Bittern

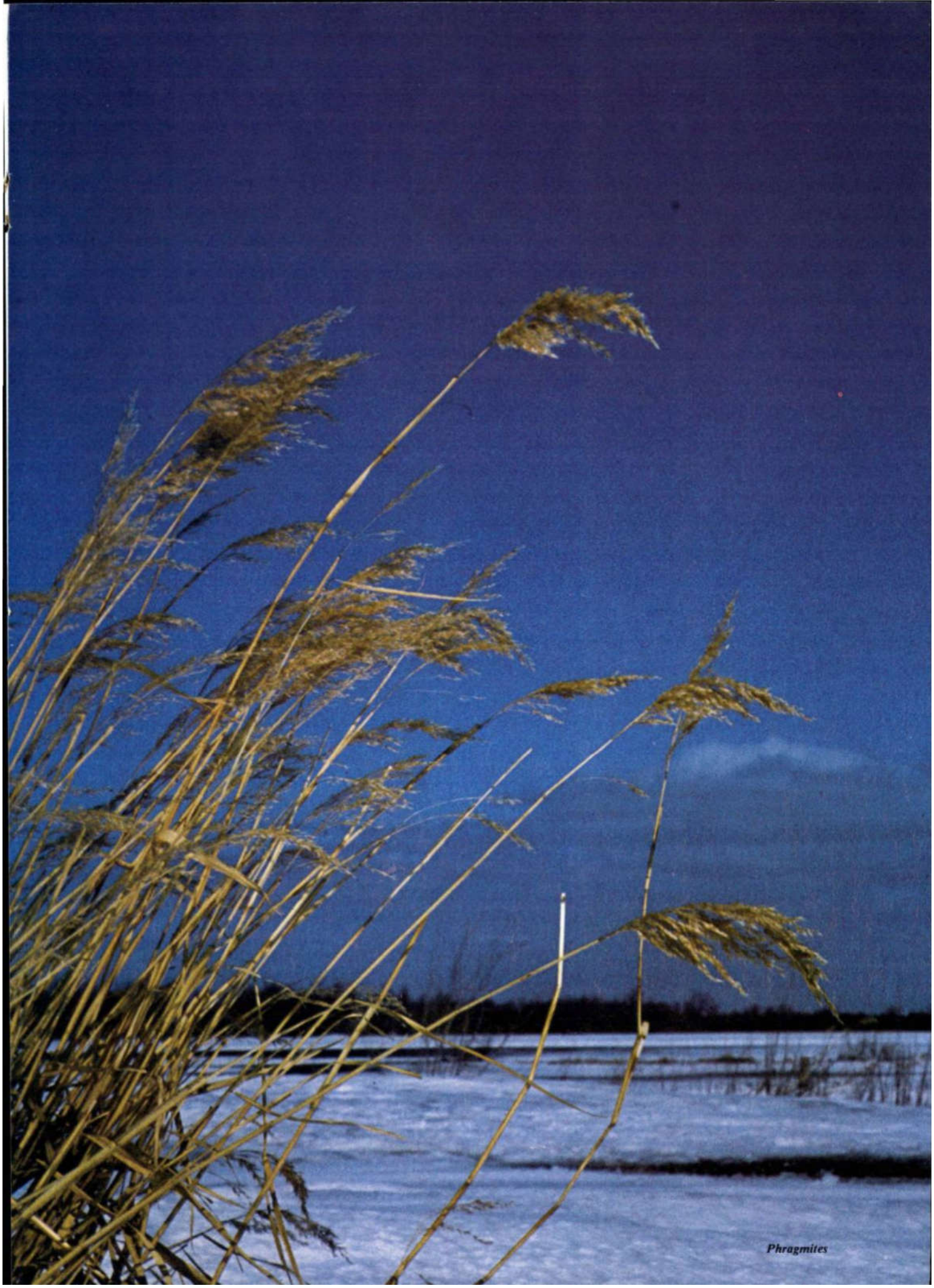


Sunset in the marsh

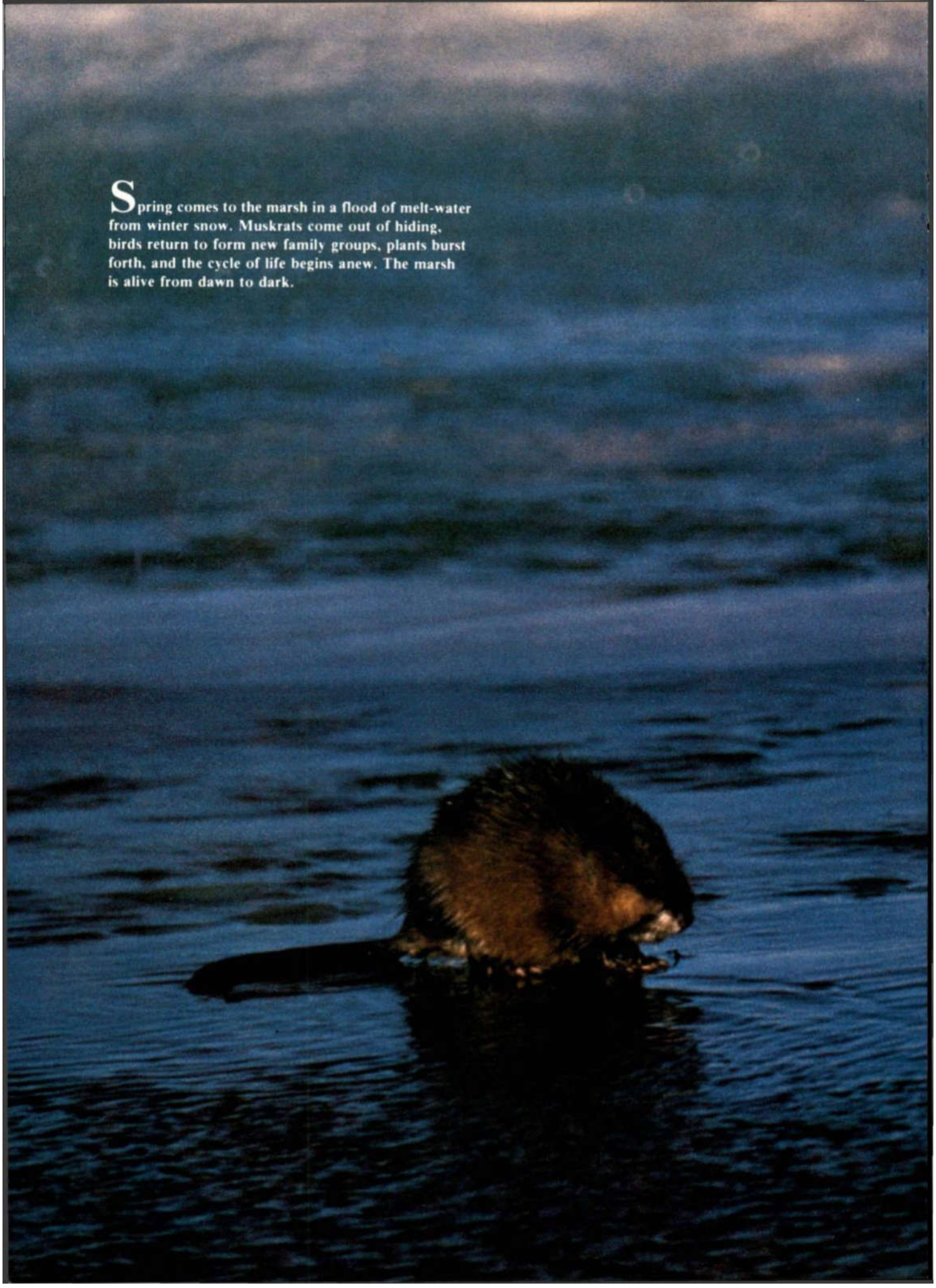
Snow Geese and Blue Geese

Winter is a resting time. The pale cattail stems stand stiff in the frozen ground; the phragmites still sway in the winter winds.

Cattails

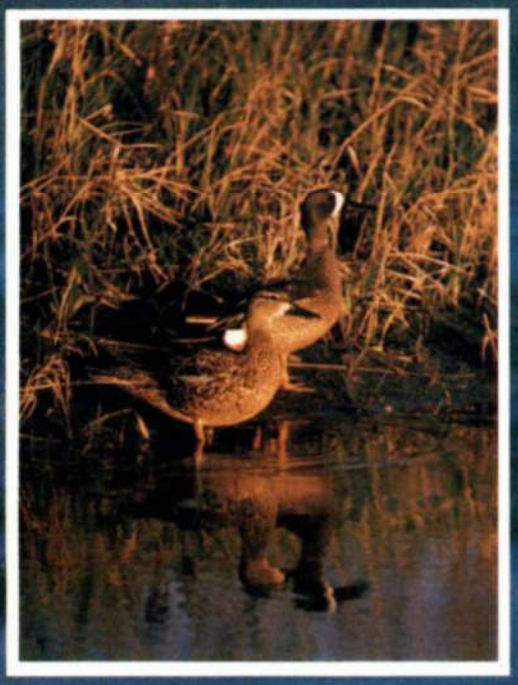


Phragmites



Spring comes to the marsh in a flood of melt-water from winter snow. Muskrats come out of hiding, birds return to form new family groups, plants burst forth, and the cycle of life begins anew. The marsh is alive from dawn to dark.

Blue-winged Teal



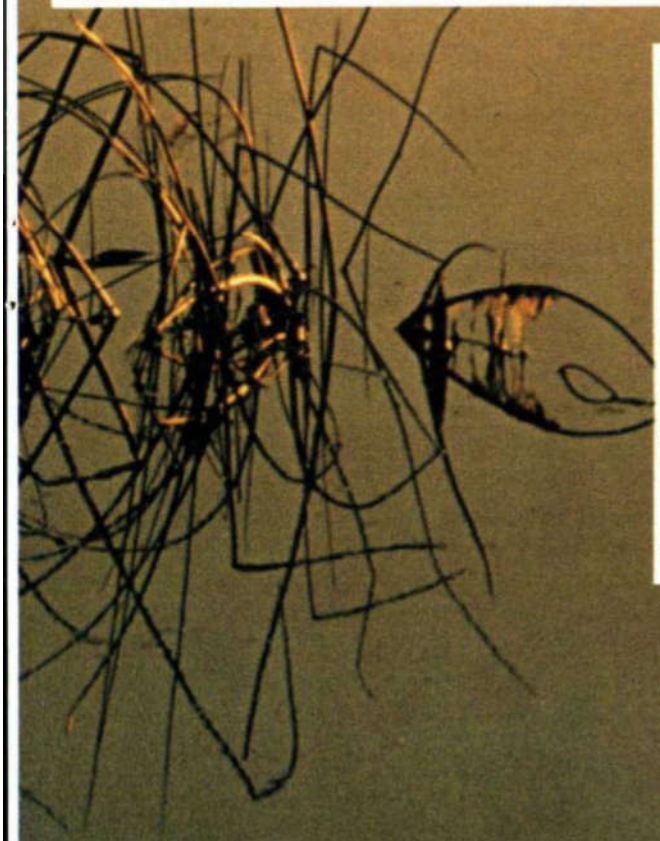
Willow catkins

Summer is a time of peace and beauty. The migrants have left and those birds that remain keep busy raising their young. The marsh vegetation is at its best and provides a specialized environment for its residents both in food and protective cover.

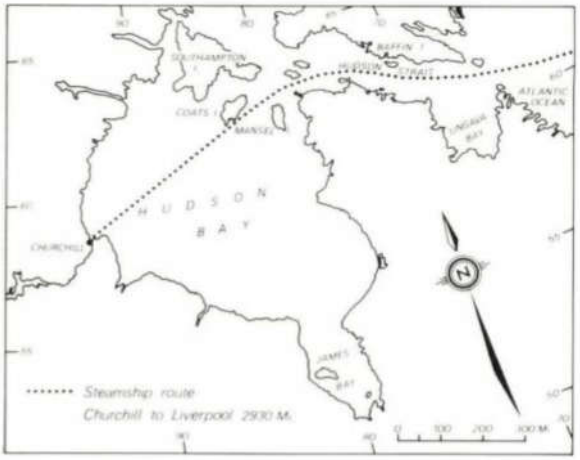
Killdeer eggs

Summer vegetation

Short-eared owl



Leopard frog



A view of the port, showing the basin and elevators and the gantry. The low building at dock-side is the warehouse; two rock scows, right, carry away dredged material.

VIA THE BAY

BY WILLIS RICHFORD

The author is historian for the Port Churchill Development Board and has been, for many years, a director of the Hudson Bay Route Association. Photographs, unless otherwise credited, are from his collection.

FIFTY YEARS AGO, on 29 March 1929, the Hudson Bay Railway reached Churchill. Through the cold winter of 1928-29 men had endured primitive working and living conditions to lay the final seventy-five miles of ties and steel from The Pas to the site of the new Port of Churchill on the Bay.

With the coming of spring, ballasting of the track started from the north and south ends of the track and from gravel pits along the right-of-way where equipment had been spotted during the winter. The work proceeded well and by 13 September 1929 the Hudson Bay Railway was able to handle conventional trains throughout its length.

Six days later, on 19 September, the Hudson's Bay Company's S. S. *Ungava* sailed, carrying with its cargo a shipment of 200 small sacks of No 1 Northern wheat grown in southern Manitoba. The sacks were delivered to the Company's London office for distribution as souvenirs, promoting the new trade route. (A number of similar sacks had already been distributed in Canada and the United States, together with letters from the Governor of the Company.)

Two years passed while work was pushed at the port and in September 1931, the first commercial cargoes left Port Churchill — 540,000 bushels of Nos 1, 2, 3 Northern wheat, shipped by arrangement with the Western Wheat Pools, on the *Farnworth* and *Warkworth*, chartered by the federal government from R. S. Dalgliesh Company of Newcastle, England. Ominously, the new trade route opened when the Depression was at its worst.

During the 1930s exports of grain did not come up to expectations. Shipments out, however, included flour, live cattle, lumber and honey, which are not worked today. Imports of great variety moved through Churchill to locations scattered from North-western Ontario to Vancouver Island.

With the coming of World War II, the port was closed to commercial traffic, but the area became a hive of activity when the Americans constructed a large staging airport at Churchill, later to be known as the joint United States and Canadian military base. This was bulldozed into oblivion in 1977.

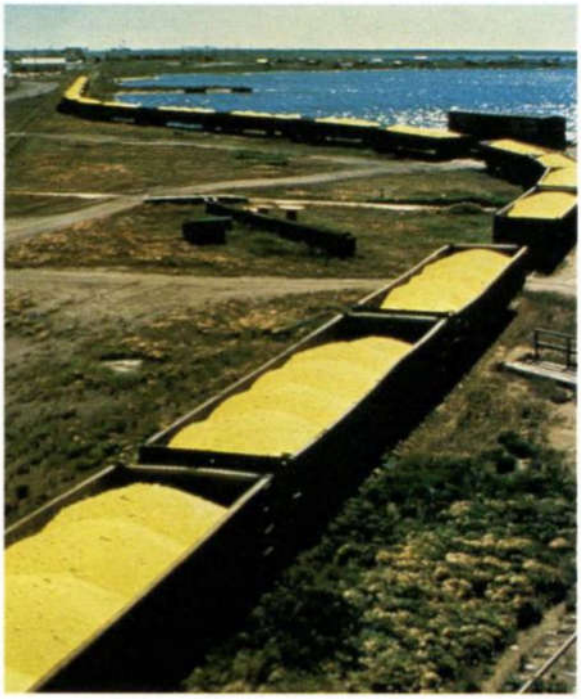
As the war drew to a close, a number of Western Canadians became concerned about Churchill being re-opened for overseas trade. The On-to-the-Bay Association that had been formed to support the Port of Churchill was dormant, but a few of its former members — among them Colonel F. J. James of Regina and J. S. Woodward of Saskatoon — and men from the United Farmers of Canada, Saskatchewan Section: Frank Appleby, Frank Eliason and George Robertson to name but a few — called a meeting following the 1944 Saskatoon Convention of the United Farmers of Canada to organize supporters of the Bay route. The Hudson Bay Route Association replaced the On-to-the-Bay Association, with Walter Streeton of Plunkett, Saskatchewan, as its first president and Frank Eliason serving as part-time secretary. The aim of the Association was to ensure that the Port of Churchill would not be phased out, but would be developed to the maximum of its trading potential.

Churchill is located almost in the centre of the Canadian land mass with much of resource-rich Western Canada and Northern Ontario and the

In the 1950s Churchill handled mixed cargo. Here equipment is unloaded for the Estevan, Saskatchewan, power station.

awakening Arctic lying within a 900-mile radius. The port is 2,936 miles from Liverpool while Montreal is 2,760 miles from Liverpool via Belle Isle or 3,007 miles via Cabot Strait. The significance of the Bay route is that it eliminates the long water haul from Thunder Bay through the Seaway to the lower St Lawrence or Gulf ports and the extra handling required at a transshipment elevator, all of which has to be paid for. Estimates of the reduction in transportation costs of grain when the Bay route is used in preference to the Seaway vary from ten to thirty cents a bushel with both buyer and the Canadian Wheat Board enjoying the consequent savings. As costs on the longer route mount, the advantages of the Bay route increase.

Additional earnings are made for the producer by the Canadian Wheat Board when grain is drawn from elevators in the Churchill Preferential Freight Rate area. Several hundred points on the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways, as close or closer to Churchill than to Thunder Bay, have rates showing reductions of from zero to six cents per hundred pounds. Grain drawn from outside the preferential area can also show overall savings when Churchill is used.



In 1974 and 1975 Alberta sulphur was transported north on open gondola cars and shipped through Churchill.

Churchill's tugs 'W. N. Twoland' and 'George Kidd' berth an ocean-going vessel.

A third and significant factor is that an effective Hudson Bay Route operation forces charges for Great Lakes-St Lawrence elevators, shipping and insurance to be kept competitive, and so acts as a control over grain transportation costs to seaboard. (This was dramatically illustrated in 1933 when at the opening of Churchill's second full-scale season, a planned movement through the port of ten million bushels of wheat was unexpectedly switched to the Great Lakes Route where charges had suddenly dropped from 6-8 cents a bushel to two cents a bushel.)

In 1927, in what was then a pioneer effort, drilling equipment was transported to Churchill by Western Canada Airways planes. The winter's work shattered the contention that underlying rock would prevent dredging of the harbour. As well, engineers then believed that if the overburden were not disturbed, a railway could be built on the permafrost. These factors, and a report by the British engineer, Sir Frederick Palmer, that 'Churchill is undoubtedly the port to be selected' caused the Canadian government to abandon its attempt to create a port in the shallow waters of the estuary of the Nelson River (upon which $6 million had been spent) and to concentrate all work at the northern site.

Captain George R. Hampton

'Keewatin', the HBC's re-supply tug that carries mixed cargo from Churchill to the Keewatin District.

The port was constructed on the east bank of the Churchill River, one mile upstream from the harbour entrance. In this area eastern and western rocky peninsulas protect the harbour from storms. They taper to blunt points at their northern extremities to enclose a basin six miles in length and from one to two and one-half miles wide, capable of massive harbour and port development. The entrance is a narrow gap between the northern headlands with a low water depth of from 30 to 60 feet or more. A deep water entrance is maintained by occasional dredging, but mostly by the scouring action of 14-foot to 17-foot tides rushing at five knots or more past the Merry Rock. The one-mile channel to the docks is being dredged to a depth of 32 feet and berths at the dock, to 35 feet, while the turning basin and the bend at the Merry Rock are being widened so that vessels of 60,000 tons and more will be safely accommodated.

The arrival of the 52,000-ton Japanese freighter *Kikko Maru* on 9 August 1979, illustrates the increase in vessel size from the usual 10,000 to 17,000-ton freighters of the 1950s, and the need to maintain and develop the port.

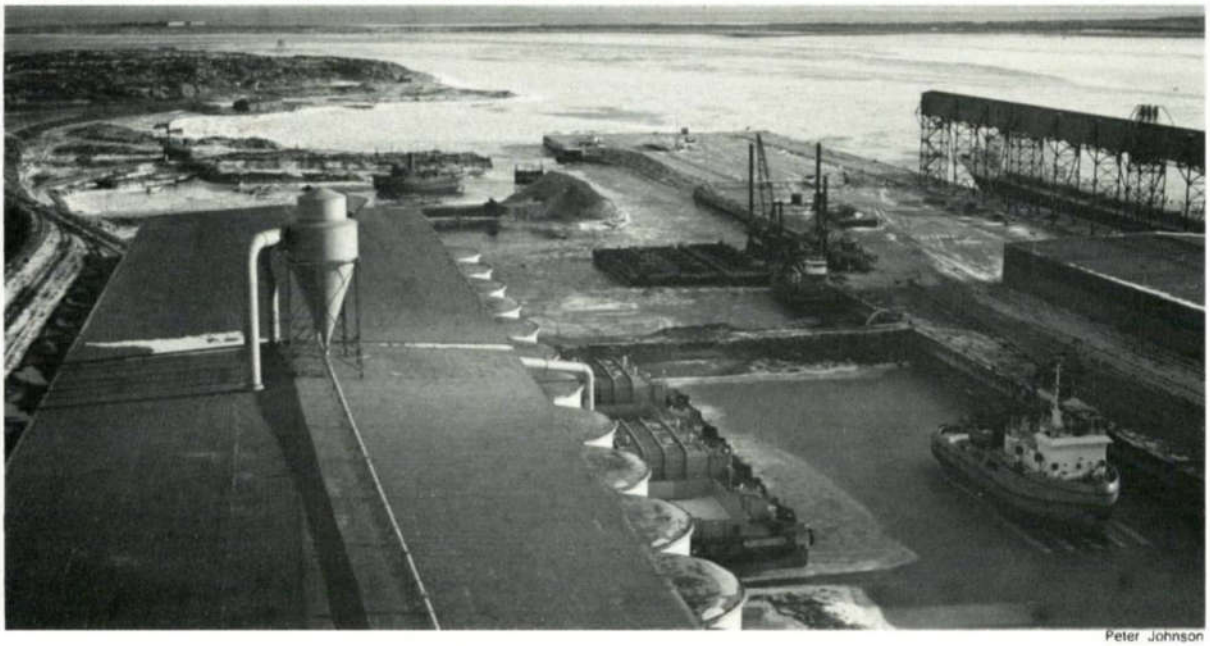
Inbound vessels anchor at the Fairway Buoy four miles off shore, and there they are boarded by a pilot who brings them to dockside. Outbound vessels while still underway, will drop the pilot just inside or just outside the narrow entrance and continue on their way out of the Bay. In contrast, the Great Lakes-Seaway Route requires numerous pilots, canal passages and toll payments, all adding substantially to transportation costs. Churchill's two tugs, the *W. N. Twoland* of 1,520 horsepower and the *George Kidd* of 600 horsepower serve the port in handling vessels in excess of 50,000 tons. A larger tug is planned for the 1980s.

Facilities at Churchill are fairly adequate for the moment, as the port's capacity has not yet been tested. There is one coastal berth and five deep sea berths, one equipped with a transit shed of 82,000 square feet that is served directly by rail and fully bonded and registered with Canada Customs. During the winter of 1978-79 a new wintering basin was used for the first time. It accommodates the Churchill vessels of the National Harbours Board and the Northern Transportation Company which are engaged in re-supply to the Keewatin District, and allows for out-of-water inspections and repairs of ocean-going vessels. The port is equipped with a modern machine shop capable of doing quite extensive repairs to ships; it also maintains port and elevator machinery and equipment. There is a crawler crane with a capacity of 35 tons; however ships have unloaded up to 58 tons using their own gear. Heavy lifts are occasionally brought in to handle special programs, as was done when the Logistec Corporation brought in equipment

Half a mile of bridge still reaches into the shallow waters at Port Nelson where $6 million was spent before the site was abandoned in favour of Churchill.

Peter Johnson

A view of the Port of Churchill, from the elevator in late October, 1978.



Peter Johnson

from the St Lawrence to handle the Alberta sulphur which Amoco Canada exported through Churchill in 1974 and 1975.

The five-million-bushel elevator, originally planned for expansion to ten million, is what impresses most visitors to the Port. It performs what is claimed to be the most efficient export through-put operation in Canada. During its present restricted season it turns over its licenced capacity 5.6 times. This record compares with the 9.8 turnover of the Port of Vancouver, which is open all year.

Churchill's elevator has been considerably modernized by the recent installation of dust collectors, electric wiring, high-speed cleaners and automated weigh scales. It is connected to dockside by conveyor belts which deliver to 23 spouts serving three ocean berths. Grain cars are winched onto four dumpers with an unload capacity of 45,000 bushels an hour — well over 217 cars a day. The shipping capacity is 60,000 bushels an hour which could be increased to 100,000 by speeding up the belts or by adding two new ones.

The Port Churchill Development Board, a promotional office financed by the governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, claims that Churchill's export capacity within the present season

Peter Johnson

A hy-rail inspection vehicle approaches a sinkhole on the Canadian National Railways' line to Port Churchill.

could be 39.7 million bushels on a single shift or 52.9 million on double shift — especially if some grain arrived cleaned from the prairies. Port Manager T. A. Lauzon quoted a figure of 50 million to the Hudson Bay Route Association at their 1979 convention, while the Hall Commission states that '50-60 million bushels could readily be put through this port'.

Some have estimated that the 30-million-bushel export target for 1979 could have been exceeded by 8.5 million if advantage had been taken of the 14-day extension to the season offered by the Canadian marine underwriters. Another two million could have been added if Canada's new M.V. *Arctic* had secured cargoes for June and November sailings. This would have eased Canada's grain congestion, marketing and transportation problems and allowed acceptance of further sales valued at millions of dollars.

The town of Churchill is well served by air. Pacific Western Airlines and Transair jet service operate between Winnipeg, Thompson, Yellowknife and Whitehorse, and scheduled and charter flights reach into the Keewatin District and the Arctic Islands.

A paved road connecting Winnipeg and Thompson is being constructed towards Gillam. Its extension to Churchill would present fewer problems than the Mackenzie and the recently opened Dempster Highways, because eskers could be followed. But for the Port of Churchill and the prairies, it is the railway upon which the future of their trade via the Bay depends.

From The Pas where connection is made with the entire North American railway system, the Bay line descends to sea level unimpeded by very sharp curves and heavy gradients, thus allowing the Canadian National Railways to operate trains of from 125 to 160 grain cars — longer than similar trains through the Rockies to Vancouver — and to deliver to the Churchill elevator in excess of 30 million bushels in about three months. These shipments are in addition to normal freight traffic, and passenger service which gives Thompson twelve passenger trains a week and Churchill, six.

As box cars are withdrawn from service, the ability of the Canadian National's Herchmer sub-division between Gillam and Churchill to handle hopper cars becomes crucial. A well-built roadbed is supported by the permafrost which is intermittent between miles 326 and 442, and then continuous to mile 510 at Churchill. Although grain moved to Churchill in hopper cars in the mid-1960s they are not used now because of the development of about 200 sinkholes caused by spot thawing of the permafrost, especially in the intermittent zone. While long, heavy grain trains pass safely every day over the line in rush season, the work of embankment widening, bridge rebuilding and the replacing of 80-pound steel by 100-pound steel continues, so that hopper cars may be accepted by 1983. The improvements to the line are made under the federal Prairie Grain Line Rehabilitation Program. At the same time, the Canadian National is conducting a research program into the sinkhole problem for the federal government.

Wood chips provide insulation on a short-term basis, but heat exchangers used on arctic pipeline projects may be a more permanent solution. The exchanger is a non-mechanical unit that is driven into the outer edge of a permafrost island. A coolant rises up the pipe as a gas in winter, is cooled by the cold air through a fin system, and is returned as a liquid down to the permafrost. The process is repeated to keep the roadbed permanently frozen. The possible cost of the exchanger is estimated at $1.6 million, well within

Peter Johnson

Cryo-anchors — small, self-operating refrigerators — driven into a patch of 'warm' permafrost along the Hudson Bay Railway line.

Canada's ability to ensure that grain and other cargoes continue to roll into Churchill.

Within the port itself, ice is the controlling physical factor limiting the development and use of the Bay Route. Frazil ice, formed after heavy snowfalls upstream, may appear in the harbour from mid-October until late November. This ice moves out on the tides until the harbour is frozen solid in late November or early December. If vessels took preventative action, they would not be frozen in during this period.

Many detailed plans have been prepared on the means to overcome the formation and movement of ice in the harbour in the fall and so to lengthen the season. One of the most interesting involves the building of a causeway across the shallow river at Cockles Point. This would carry a highway, railway or perhaps a pipeline to a new dock built about two miles off shore to receive and load such bulk cargoes as sulphur and coal from Alberta or potash from Saskatchewan.

About five changes of course will often take a vessel across the 500-mile-wide Bay, then past Coats and Nottingham Islands and on through the wide deep straits at Resolution Island to the Atlantic — one-third of the voyage to the United Kingdom. The route along the way is well equipped with marine aids, icebreaker support and weather reports and ice forecasts compiled from aerial reconnaisance and from satellite pictures.

If ice is encountered in the straits in July it is usually ice that formed during the previous winter. Only occasionally does heavier Foxe Basin ice come down into the western end shipping lanes.

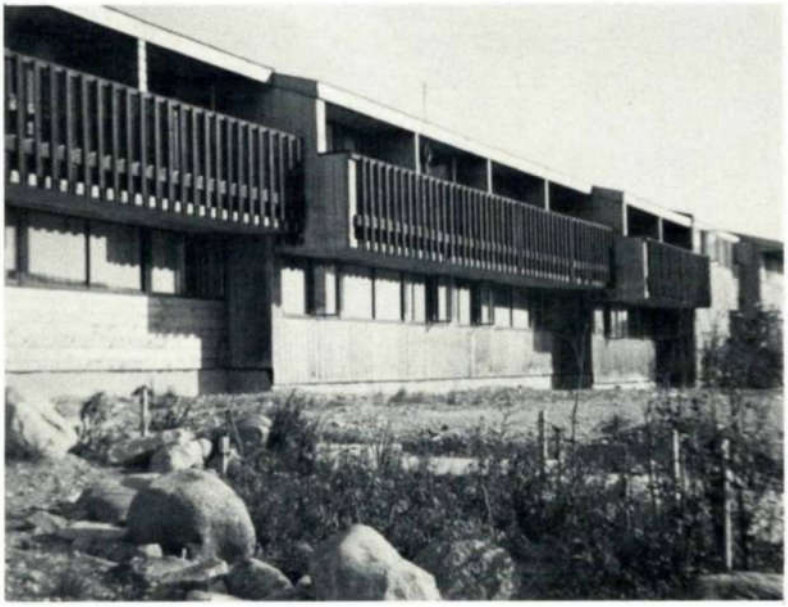
Following the remarkable aerial survey of the straits conducted by the Royal Canadian Air Force during the winter of 1927-28, the N. B. McLean Report recommended a season of 120 days, from mid-July to mid-November, during which time commercial vessels could navigate the straits safely without the use of icebreakers.

Icebergs, which make good radar targets, tend to move along the South Baffin coastline, westerly with the current and then return easterly along the Quebec shore. Modern communication systems and navigation practices assist vessels in avoiding or navigating through such icefields as may occur. Growlers — low floating pieces of ice — require extra caution. As the ice usually clears in the Bay from north-west to south-east, early season passages are sometimes made sailing between Southampton and Coats Islands and down the west shore to Churchill.

Lloyd's of London and Baltic of Copenhagen offer insurance for overseas vessels which allows entrance into the straits at midnight, July 22nd and departure from Churchill on October 15th. If departure is made up to October 20th a payment of a 25% surcharge is made, and for a later departure, a 100% surcharge. Some shipping firms secure lower rates, as they insure their whole fleets world-wide and year-round. Pressure is continually being applied to secure not only lower rates but more flexible opening and closing dates. Shipowners and charterers have yet to take advantage of this year's offer by Canadian marine underwriters to sell Bay Route insurance at minimum rates for the period of July 15th to October 31st.

The advent of arctic vessels designed for year-round operation through ice should surely bring spin-off bonuses for the Bay Route. The M.V. *Arctic*, owned 51% by Transport Canada and operated by a

A month later than the usual closing date for the Port of Churchill, the MV 'Arctic' loaded a shipment of barley for Poland, November 15, 1979.



A view of housing units in Churchill's recently completed $20 million recreation and housing complex.

consortium forming the North Water Navigation Ltd., is an ice-breaking bulk carrier of 28,000 tons. It has a capacity of a million bushels and is able to self-load and unload a cargo of 280 containers. Because of its power, its protected propellor, and its water lubrication to eliminate friction between the ice and its hull, it is able to travel at full speed through two feet of ice. It carries ore concentrates from Nanisivik at the top of Baffin Island to Europe from mid-summer until late October. Such a carrier could give Churchill a season from June 25th to December 20th.

The contrast between what is being done and planned for the High Arctic and for Churchill and the Bay Route is striking. Dome Petroleum operates 22 vessels in its Beaufort Sea operations and has just taken delivery of a Class 4 icebreaker with a capability exceeding any Canadian Coast Guard icebreaker. Panarctic and associates plan the operation of a tanker to carry liquified natural gas year-round through the northern ice.

For the Port of Churchill the future must see a revival of former traffic and the development of new — the movement of an ever-growing flow of commerce of wide variety via the Bay. ◆

PARR

By Terrence Ryan, Manager, West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, Cape Dorset

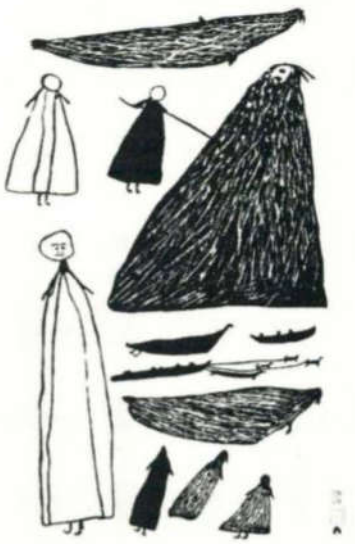
ON MY ARRIVAL in Cape Dorset in 1960, Parr was already an elderly man. He had lived the greater part of his life at Tessikakjuak, an inlet on Baffin Island approximately eight miles north of Dorset Island. The area, one of considerable scenic beauty, had been for decades a popular and frequently visited fishing area. Parr and his wife Eleeshushe shared a home with Koviantilliak, their son, as was customary for those elders who were no longer able to provide the essentials required for everyday life.

Although the Cape Dorset print experiment was still in its infancy in 1960, there was a growing interest in and awareness of the graphic images emanating from the small workshop. In that location, all manner of activity took place: the purchase of stone sculpture and drawings, the cutting and printing of stone blocks, and experimenting in copper engraving.

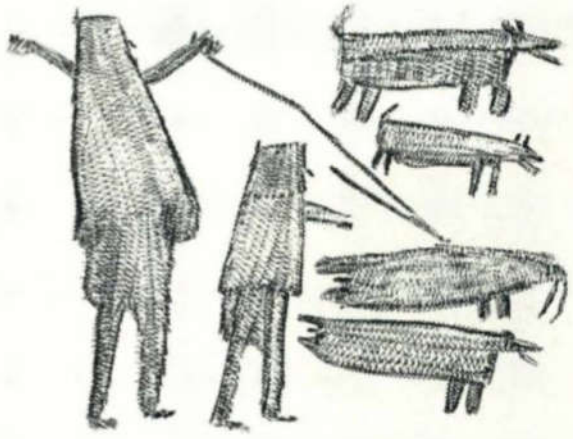
In the spring of 1961, I approached Parr to ask him about his interest in drawing. He expressed reservations; however, I left him a large sketch pad and pencils. In the course of the following weeks, Parr filled the sketch pad with myriads of images derived from aspects of the hunting culture which he had experienced. From that point on, Parr became a prolific and constant participant.

As his health failed, Parr settled in the village of Cape Dorset and visited the print shop almost daily with drawings. He used graphite pencils and later experimented with wax crayons, pens and pastels. Occasionally Parr would observe prints being pulled

Blue Geese Feeding. Stencil, 1961.



Men and Walrus. Stonecut, 1961.



Harpooning Walrus. Engraving, 1963.

from the stone blocks. It obviously pleased him to sign his editions and to have people express interest in his work.

Parr found the medium of copper engraving a considerable chore; nor did he pursue the acid bath technique employed in soft ground etchings. After several plates had been proofed and editioned in this manner, Parr went back to drawing on paper.

As a younger man, Parr had suffered frostbite. As a result a portion of his foot required amputation. From that time on, he was obliged to walk with the aid of a staff. Small in stature and with white hair, he became a familiar figure, frequently wandering along the shoreline of the community of Cape Dorset.

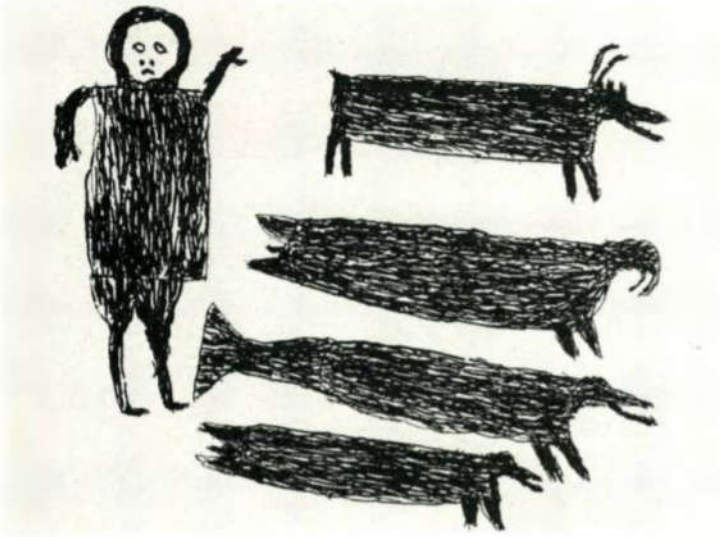
Eventually, as Parr became incapacitated, he would send his drawings to the shops in the care of his youngest son Nuna or his wife Eleeshushe, who also was becoming a contributor to the annual graphic collection. Drawing in his small one-room house, Parr continued to record his memories of the past. He sat on the sleeping platform with legs outstretched to support his paper and diligently drew his images. In his personal style, he depicted those memories of a fading way of life — a life concerned almost exclusively with the hunt and survival.

In November 1969, Parr died in Cape Dorset. All of his drawing and print exhibitions were held after his death. He was never aware of the impact and importance of his art and his documentation of a vanishing culture.

A Print Retrospective to be held at Gallery One, Toronto, from 8 December 1979 to 3 January 1980.

Parr drawing show to be held at the Inuit Gallery, Vancouver, from 6 December 1979 to 1 January 1980.

A limited edition monograph on Parr, published by the Kingnait Press, Cape Dorset, to be released in the fall of 1979. Copies available on request from Dorset Fine Arts, P.O. Box 381, Station K, Toronto, Ontario M4P 2G7.

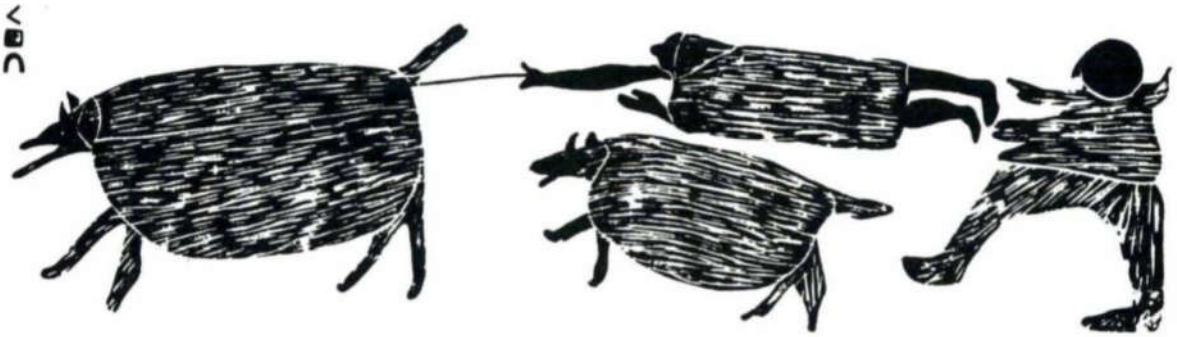


Etching. Untitled. 1962.

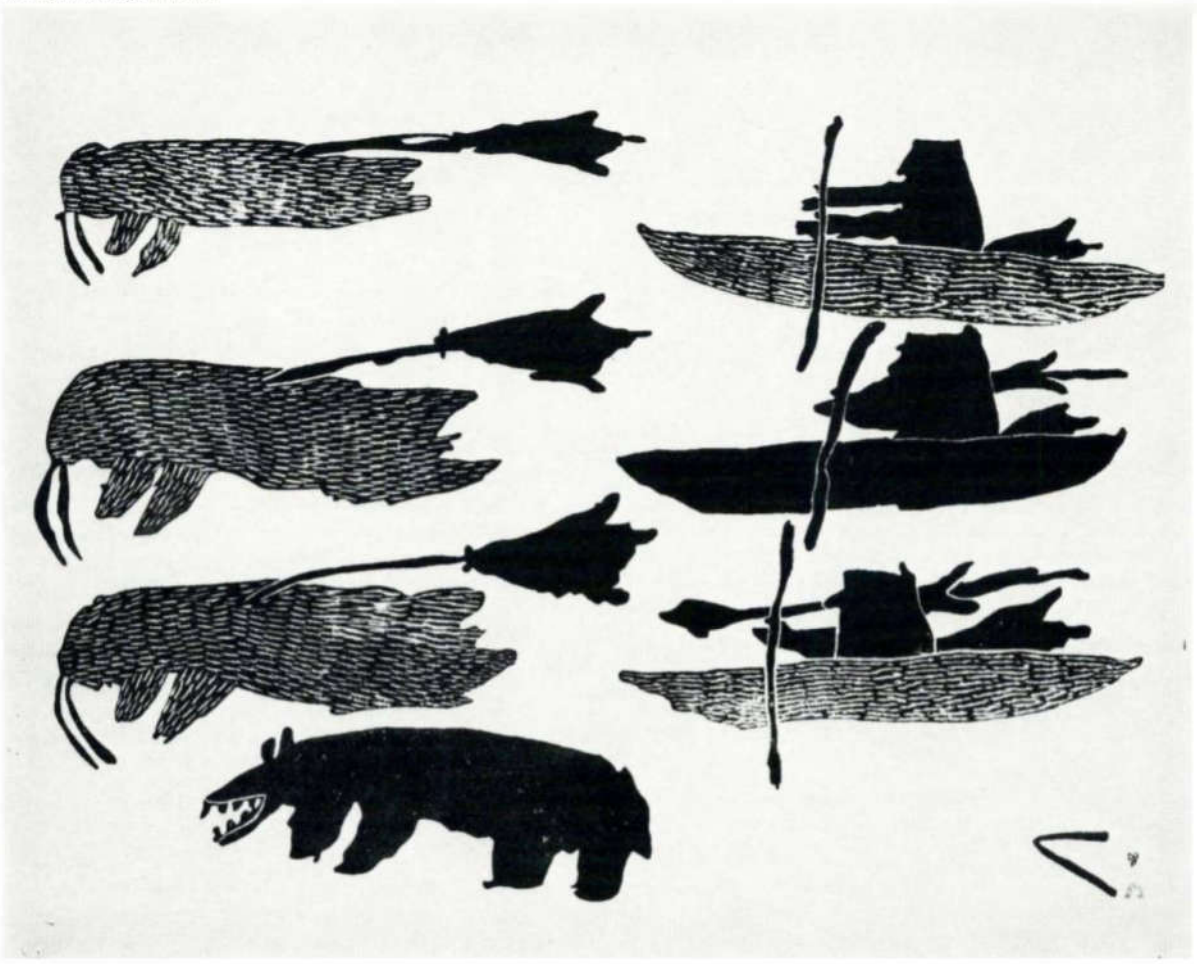
The Hunters. Stonecut, 1962.

Geese, Man and Animals. Stencil, 1963.

Children Chasing a Dog. Stonecut, 1966.



Hunters. Stonecut, 1970.



Thomas Clark

His Business Relationship with Lord Selkirk

By Bruce A. Parker

The author, a graduate of the University of Western Ontario, teaches history at Port Hope High School, Port Hope, Ontario.

J. M. BUMSTED'S recent evaluation of Lord Selkirk (*The Beaver*, Autumn 1978) in which he stated that Selkirk relied heavily on the expertise and support of his associates in his various settlement schemes is perhaps most vividly apparent when one examines his business relationship with Thomas Clark (1770-1835), an Upper Canadian merchant and financier.

As a local manager for English interests, Clark's dealings with Selkirk show how strong old-world connections remained with many who had sought a new and better life in Canada. Clark was a fellow Dumfrieshireman and Selkirk no doubt used this tie to enlist his aid and advice. However, the sense of loyalty to one's fellow countryman was behind the occasion where emotions sometimes prevailed over good business sense and one needed all the business acumen that could be mustered when one became involved in Lord Selkirk's complicated projects. Fortunately Clark's participation in Selkirk's plans did little to interrupt a successful business career but it nevertheless demonstrated how hard Clark had to work for his profits — at least on occasion.

Clark ultimately functioned for Selkirk in three capacities. His first and probably most important task was that of financial agent and advisor for Selkirk's Baldoon settlement located on Lake Erie in Upper Canada. Working with Sheriff Alexander McDonell of York — Selkirk's appointed chief agent for Baldoon — Clark acted as a source of capital against which McDonell charged up various expenditures of the settlement. As troubles mounted at the ill-fated settlement and spending increased, Clark was drawn into the dispute between Selkirk and McDonell over the management of the scheme and usually ended up sorting out matters for Selkirk. Secondly Clark was called upon by Selkirk to outfit the expedition to the Red River Colony in 1816. It was a minor role for Clark but showed the degree to which Selkirk had come to depend on various experts to carry out his ideas.

Finally, Clark acted as land agent for Selkirk, managing a tract of land in the Grand River area of Upper Canada. Selkirk also had spectacular plans for development of this piece of land but his ill-health, lack of money and legal entanglements foiled yet another of his schemes. For Clark's part, he managed to salvage in a very capable manner everything that was possible from a poor purchase made by Selkirk.

Prior to his first involvement with Lord Selkirk, Clark had become firmly established as an Upper Canadian merchant. After leaving Dumfries, Scotland, in the spring of 1791, he arrived at Niagara, Upper Canada, where his family connections enabled him to immediately secure a position with his cousin, Robert Hamilton. Hamilton was a prosperous merchant-forwarder at Niagara and Clark, after a successful apprenticeship, availed himself of the opportunities of an expanding economy and was soon operating his own merchant-forwarding house in the area with several partners. His dedication, perseverance and desire to be a success, combined with the business contacts now established with Robert Hamilton, helped Clark to quickly become one of the leading merchants in Upper Canada. He became involved in lucrative trade with the Montreal merchant houses and often dealt with such notables as John Jacob Astor of New York. His achievements in a relatively short period combined with his Dumfries lineage probably drew him to Selkirk's attention.

The first definite evidence of personal contact between Clark and Selkirk came in the fall of 1802 when Clark had returned home to Scotland. Meeting with Selkirk in Glasgow upon several occasions, Clark found him to be 'of a very diffident disposition'. At this time Selkirk had been in correspondence with the Colonial Office and had even conferred with future Prime Minister, Henry Addington, in order to advance his several proposals for helping Scottish emigrants to settle on British colonial soil. Some of these proposals Selkirk discussed with Clark in Glasgow; Clark seemed leery, commenting:

> I think from his plans [Lord Selkirk] will injure himself very much without doing his people or the folks in Canada much good . . .

Despite Clark's earlier trepidations regarding Selkirk's schemes, he must have come to some agreement with him to act as his financial agent and the

supplier of goods for the projected settlement scheme in Upper Canada. Upon arriving at Niagara Falls on 16 November 1803, Selkirk conferred with Clark about the progress of William Burn who had been chosen as Selkirk's farm manager by another of his agents, Richard Savage. Burn was an experienced sheep farmer and he and his assistant, Alexander Brown, had been driving four to six hundred sheep which they had purchased in Albany to the as-yet-undetermined site for Selkirk's settlement in Upper Canada. Owing to the lateness of the season, Selkirk decided to winter the sheep at Clark's establishment and leaving Niagara Falls, went on to York.

With Burn and other workmen sent ahead to the Baldoon site in April of 1804, the settlers from Kirkcudbright, numbering fifteen heads of families and comprising one hundred and two persons, arrived at Queenston under the care of Peter McDonald. Clark now began to assume a major role in the Baldoon scheme. The sheep that were wintered at Clark's were sheared and the wool stored in Clark's store. Advances for travelling expenses were provided for A. Brown by Clark and he was to 'pay premium Irish Labourers boat [fare] as per Lionel Farquarson'. Clark was also to provide Selkirk's settlers with accommodation and fresh beef and milk. Further, he was to get quarrying tools, to teach the preparation of Indian corn and to employ five or six settlers in driving oxen. It is clear that, from the outset, Selkirk viewed Clark's experience and judgment as a vital segment of the Baldoon operation.

While the settlers were still at Queenston, Clark provided one hundred bushels of Indian corn for them and agreed to forward eight hundred bushels in the spring and two hundred or three hundred more bushels in the fall. Finally, Selkirk sought Clark's advice on suitable ship carpenters for the colony and a possible 'food partner' to engage in Indian trade with the Northwest.

During the early months of 1804, Clark was involved in some preliminary financing of the settlement with Sheriff Alexander McDonell. Selkirk had left some bills totalling £80 sterling with McDonell, and Clark, in attempting to help outfit the settlers, was having difficulty in procuring the money from that gentleman. Indeed, McDonell's fiscal bunglings, evident at the outset, were destined to become a prime factor in the eventual failure of the Baldoon settlement.

The profit for the settlement, according to Selkirk's scheme, would be dependent upon the production of wool and mutton. Yet it was not until October 1804 that Alexander Brown, Lord Selkirk's shepherd, started for Baldoon from Queenston with the flock of six hundred New York sheep. The weather was so bad by this time that Clark held back sending three yoke of oxen destined for the colony, but he had wisely

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There is no known portrait of Thomas Clark. Shown is Robert Hamilton, cousin to Thomas Clark and a prominent and prosperous merchant-forwarder at Niagara. He introduced Clark to the business world of Upper Canada in the 1790s.

advanced Brown $200.00 to cover expenses for driving the sheep. After hearing from Brown several weeks later that he would not be able to drive the sheep to Baldoon owing to the poor road conditions, Clark directed Brown to halt with the sheep at Richard Hatt's near Brantford and 'then look through the country where hay is cheapest and where the sheep can be wintered on the best terms'.

By November of 1804, matters had worsened at Baldoon and McDonell informed Clark of the malaria and death that swept through the settlement. To make the situation more difficult, McDonell had balked at paying one of the labourers at the settlement, Samuel Montgomery, who had been recommended by Clark. Montgomery, aside from assisting with his labour for eight months at the site, had aided many of the settlers when they became ill. By November, McDonell himself had left Baldoon for York and sent John McDonald to be in charge of the settlers, with a request for a sum of money (that Clark could not provide) to run the settlement. In early November McDonell had already drawn upon Le Roy, Bayard and McEvers, merchants at New York, in favour of Clark, for the sum of $1,303.50, and by the end of the month asked Clark to supply McDonald with $1,600.00 to enable

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The landing at Queenston c. 1790, showing Robert Hamilton's warehouse where Clark was an apprentice.

him to pay Ransom, Morland and Company of London in United States bank notes.

McDonell's extravagant spending for the Baldoon settlement increased dramatically throughout 1805. In early May he informed Selkirk that he had exceeded his account with Le Roy, Bayard and McEvers by $726.31, having drawn upon the firm up to May 1805, the amount of $6,720.31. By the end of May, McDonell wrote to Clark stating that he had drawn on him, in favour of Robert Nichol, for the sum of $1,153.00 for pork and flour purchased from Nichol for the settlers at Baldoon. Several times McDonell advised Selkirk that the expenditures, while alarming, were justified.

> You will My Lord [Selkirk] no doubt be surprised at the immense sums which have been expended at Baldoon but your Lordship's surprise cannot exceed my distress of mind in the apprehension of any mismanagement being imputed to me . . .

Time and time again, throughout 1806 McDonell was forced to draw on Clark for large sums of money. By the late fall the debt for the Baldoon settlement with the New York firm rose to £1,000 sterling which McDonell instructed them to draw upon Ransom, Morland and Company, even though he had not secured Selkirk's permission to carry out the transfer of funds. Despite this large sum of £1,000 sterling, McDonell had already in addition drawn upon Le Roy, Bayard and McEvers for $3,100.00, and he still required a further £1,500 provincial currency from Ransom and Morland.

From the correspondence it is apparent that, as matters worsened and expenses rose at Baldoon, Selkirk instructed Clark to pay brief visits to check on matters. The year 1808 proved to be particularly disastrous. A thousand bushels of corn had been wasted; the settlers had failed to husk the corn once it was cut and it rotted in great heaps on the field. The oat crop met a parallel fate and a fire, started to burn out some of the undergrowth in the marsh area, got out of control and almost killed off the livestock. After discussing the situation with Dolson, a supplier located on the River La Trenche (the Thames), Clark informed McDonell of the desperate plight of the settlers. The inference from Clark's letter is that McDonell might have helped the situation if he had been present at Baldoon, but Clark stopped short of saying it directly.

Despite McDonell's continuing to overdraw on Selkirk's accounts in New York and London, Clark often received short, desperate-sounding communiques asking for cash allowances, or requesting that he cover the overdraft. By 1809 he had become exasperated with McDonell's monetary mismanagement and advised that:

> I have charged 5 per cent for cash advanced, this is 2½ per cent more than I before charged, but is 5 per cent less than the money was worth to me — you, of course, remember my requesting you to provide some other means of supplying yourself with cash last summer . . .

McDonell seemed as unaffected by Clark's warning as he was by anything else. Personal monetary matters had become hopeless for McDonell who wrote to

Metropolitan Toronto Library Board

Alexander McDonell, Lord Selkirk's agent at Baldoon.

Clark shortly after demanding more time to repay his own debts. Why Lord Selkirk continued to keep McDonell on as a manager for Baldoon when McDonell could not even handle his own affairs, all aside from what he had done at Baldoon, is almost unexplainable. Certainly, McDonell was clever at presenting Selkirk with the impression that he was an efficient and frugal controller of the finances. For instance he mentioned that on occasion, by travelling to Clark's to purchase goods, he could save from 50 to 75 per cent over the cost of the same goods at Sandwich.

By the beginning of 1810, even Selkirk had become tired of McDonell's incompetence. As a result, on 22 May, Clark arrived at Baldoon with three duties to perform. First, he was to examine the survey carried out by Thomas Smith for McDonell on the Baldoon Road. Next, he was to examine the entire financial operation of Baldoon, checking all accounts with the local suppliers and finally, Clark was to advise McDonell that Lord Selkirk no longer required his services.

In examining the road site, Clark found the land wetter than Thomas Smith had told him, but his comments about most of the lot sites were favourable. Apparently the plan was that Smith was to procure French Canadians from Detroit to settle upon the road and Clark advised McDonell that, in order to encourage them, the price for the land should not exceed one dollar per acre.

On the second matter, looking into McDonell's accounts with the local merchants on behalf of Baldoon, an incident occurred that underlined the degree of McDonell's difficulties. Clark, after examining the conditions at Baldoon, ordered some provisions for the settlers from Richard Pattison who was a merchant at Sandwich. Upon receiving the goods, McDonell wrote back explaining that he was returning the goods because he had received a shipment from another local merchant, Matthew Dolson; he understood that Clark had ordered the goods from Dolson, not Pattison. When the goods were returned, Pattison promptly sent the bateaux back to McDonell once again ordering his men to leave them near McDonell's warehouses, whether McDonell wanted them or not. Not wishing to place Clark in an awkward position, McDonell finally accepted the goods; he then had twice the amount of perishable provisions that he needed and was forced to draw on Clark for an extra £49 to cover the cost of the goods mistakenly received from Dolson.

As to the last task, Clark wrote to McDonell in July enclosing a letter from Selkirk informing him of his dismissal. Clark advised that he now had power of attorney to handle the leasing of any of Selkirk's land, or the settling of any of Selkirk's other affairs. In addition, Clark requested that McDonell send him the account of the different bonds and other amounts due him, his accounts with the local merchants and a complete inventory of goods at the site.

Clark's position in the final confrontation between Selkirk and McDonell appears to have been sympathetic to the latter. With regard to the mounting debts to the merchants in the area, Clark promised McDonell that he would help him pay off the most pressing ones. Realizing that Selkirk's transference of his power of attorney was a 'slap in the face', Clark told McDonell:

> The power of attorney from Lord Selkirk only relates to leasing lands, by which he [Selkirk] means Baldoon farm — it does not supercede yours I believe, in any measure, and had it done so I would not have acted, having more business of my own than I can properly attend to.

In a reciprocal fashion, McDonell attached no blame to Clark for any of his misfortunes and concurred with Selkirk's request to have Clark personally sanction any bills drawn upon Ransom, Morland and Company.

There is little doubt that Clark now found himself in a very awkward position. Selkirk, having lost complete confidence in McDonell, expected Clark to advise that gentleman not only on money matters, but also on the complete running of the settlement. In the late fall of 1810, Clark wrote to McDonell regarding the latter's plan for operating Baldoon in the winter, saying it was something about which he knew little and wished to interfere as little as possible. The only sound advice

Clark was willing to offer was that McDonell hold expenses to a minimum during the winter months. Clark further offered to spend $200 in gold to help Baldoon through the winter. Writing to McDonell in December 1810, Clark again expressed feelings of distaste for the whole affair, noting that he had not heard from Selkirk in over six months, a fact which made him feel uneasy. He sensed that Selkirk expected him to make 'better arrangements' for the management of the settlement; but he felt that this was beyond his power to act.

In October Clark related to McDonell that he wished Selkirk would come over himself to look after things, or send someone over who was competent to handle his affairs. Clark ended his letter to McDonell by saying:

> . . . in short I am sorry he [Selkirk] ever addressed me on the subject — as he expects a good deal and I have been able to do little or nothing. It cost me a six weeks jaunt [to Baldoon] this summer for which I will be fully compensated if his Lordship winds up his Canada speculations to his expectations . . .

Unknown to Clark and McDonell at the time, Selkirk's letters containing instructions on how to proceed with matters at Baldoon had been lost. Unaware of this, Clark once again expressed his regret at his involvement during the early months of 1811:

> I am very sorry his Lordship even wrote anything to me concerning his affairs in this country and particularly so, as I have had it in my power to do him little or no service . . . to have any concern with his [Selkirk's] affairs is contrary to my wish and quite out of my line . . .

Clark's financial arrangement with Selkirk concerning Baldoon appears to have ended by 1811. Taking into account the fantastic sums of money drawn upon him by McDonell, he probably was the only person who made any substantial personal gain from Baldoon. Yet for Clark it was an experience in which he felt uncomfortably involved. As McDonell's credibility with Selkirk waned, Selkirk relied more and more on Clark's judgment. Clark on his part, was reluctant to become involved, not only because he thought he was not qualified to give an opinion since he had visited Baldoon only a few times in ten years, but because he did not want to encroach upon McDonell's authority. The complicated problem of communication between Selkirk in England, Clark at Niagara Falls and McDonell at Baldoon appears constantly throughout the correspondence. When Clark had to get in touch with McDonell at Baldoon he either sent word by ship, although trips were infrequent, or by an Indian courier who was often late in arriving. Clark respected McDonell's position as Selkirk's agent and was wary of any action that might indicate that he was circumventing McDonell's authority. Clearly, this was the position in which he found himself throughout 1809 and 1810 after Selkirk's communication to look into the Baldoon affairs and his subsequent lack of communication on how to proceed thereafter.

Selkirk must accept the blame for the failure of Baldoon, but one cannot help but sympathize with him. By December of 1809 he realized that his enormous expenditures on Baldoon (from 6 March 1805 to 25 June 1806, his account with Clark totalled approximately £10,950) dictated that the simplest solution would be to abandon the whole project. However, he was willing to try one last desperate measure. A plan of more economical management was needed and Selkirk proposed putting all farming operations into the hands of the tenants on a share basis. The philosophy behind the proposal was that the farms would thus be placed in the hands of people who were interested in their success and in future, expenses could be precisely determined in advance. In the past McDonell had refused, despite Selkirk's requests, to supply statements of expenses incurred at Baldoon. He had been informed of the plan by Selkirk, but he had failed to implement any of the suggestions. Selkirk now had no alternative but to ask Clark to ensure that McDonell acted on his advice as relayed through Clark, if he wished to remain employed.

Earlier, a compromise had been reached between Selkirk and McDonell under which the latter was to live within two days' journey of Baldoon; but Selkirk told Clark that he had finally discovered that McDonell had been living quietly in York. Selkirk, too late to save the situation at Baldoon, finally realized his mistake and admitted to Clark:

> . . . my past conduct towards him [McDonell] which assuredly has rather been that of an indulgent friend than of a hard rigid taskmaster . . .

By late 1810 Clark's advice to Selkirk was clear — abandon Baldoon in regard to farming and rearing sheep and find someone quickly to replace McDonell. McDonell had now appraised the lands and stock at Baldoon, but Clark relayed to Selkirk that McDonell's evaluation was twenty-five per cent too high. Something could be salvaged, Clark felt, if Selkirk sold his Spanish sheep in the United States where he estimated they would realize one hundred per cent more than Selkirk had originally paid. And Selkirk was in need of cash: Clark's bill by the end of 1810 was £1343.15.10 York currency or £755.7.8 sterling. However the War of 1812 intervened. Selkirk was unable to sell the sheep in the United States and Alex Brown, who had been sent to Baldoon to bring half of the sheep back to Lake Ontario, was prevented from doing so by bad roads. A severe winter, inferior quality of hay and the ewes giving birth to the lambs too early, resulted in heavy losses of the flock.

An agreement about the failure of Baldoon was reached between Selkirk and Clark in March 1813. Selkirk had new and glorious plans for a western

settlement project and Clark's efforts at Baldoon were rewarded by a generous donation of lands at the future Red River Settlement. Clark, in addition, requested that Selkirk exert his influence with the Duke of Buccleugh in Dumfries, Scotland, to secure an appointment which had been promised to his brother. This, Selkirk was later able to accomplish.

Baldoon was not the only settlement project in which Clark assisted Selkirk. When Clark returned home in 1814 Selkirk presented him with a prospectus on the Red River Colony and solicited his impressions. Owing to the remoteness of the country and the fact that it was so little known, Clark expressed doubts about the possibility of inducing settlers to emigrate there, especially as the United States and the Canadas were much better known and more accessible. A plan, wrote Clark, frequently adopted by emigrants wishing to settle, was to get one or two leading men to explore the country and then report back to friends. Clark disagreed with Selkirk's view that lumber and provisions could not be exported from the West, noting that originally it had been thought impossible to ever export provisions profitably from Detroit or Niagara; however, with improvements in navigation added to the enterprise of the merchants, exporting was now carried on extensively. Besides, the distance from Assiniboia to Port Nelson, Clark felt, quite wrongly, was not much more than that from Niagara to Montreal. In the winter time, Clark said Selkirk could again draw on the experience of the Montreal and Niagara merchants who brought their supplies from Montreal by sledges in the winter, each sleigh driven by two horses carrying about fifteen hundred pounds and travelling about forty miles a day.

In April 1814, Clark further consulted with Selkirk in London, England, about the Red River Colony. Selkirk wanted to use Clark's obvious knowledge of where and how to get provisions to supply the settlers when they arrived. His first interest was in cattle and Clark informed him that these could be obtained in abundance at 'Prairie des Chiens of the Owisconsin'. Clark felt that through the influence of Robert Dickson, whose experience in the fur trade made him an expert, a herd of cattle could pass through the Sioux territory without molestation. No doubt Selkirk, impressed by Clark's handling of business affairs at Baldoon, early made up his mind to put Clark in charge of outfitting the Red River expedition.

Two years passed before any concrete involvement came on Clark's part. After conferring with Colonel Thomas Talbot, he advised Selkirk that a larger allotment of land should be made on account of each settler. He then set about the task of aiding Selkirk in gathering, in less than three months' time, enough provisions and outfitters for a trip to the West. Livingston's suggestion, with which Clark disagreed, was to take the Lake Simcoe-Nottawasaga route to Georgian Bay which he felt was shorter than the Lake Erie-St Clair River-Lake Huron route. Livingston was under the impression that the greatest problem was the lateness with which Selkirk had given notice to obtain supplies for the expedition. Despite the urgency, Clark's personal business kept him from giving his full attention to the matter, and he suggested to Selkirk that he send someone up to Niagara to oversee the entire outfitting and also that he lodge credit in New York so that Clark could make payment for the supplies.

From what he had heard Selkirk decided that Livingston was not a capable person to take the job of outfitting and he advised Clark that Livingston not do anything without instructions. Furthermore, Selkirk was in agreement with Clark's choice of going around by Lake Erie in order to receive the various supplies at Fort Schlosser, Buffalo, or Detroit. Among the supplies Clark was to order for Selkirk was 1,500 or 2,000 pounds of beef, lightly corned, to 'give people a change from their consumption of salt pork'. Then due to adverse weather conditions, Selkirk reversed his decision of the Lake Erie route and asked Clark that the Nottawasaga route be taken instead. He added that any supplies from Lake Erie could be sent up to Drummond's Island or the Sault and told Clark that he had succeeded in getting a Mr Graham to superintend at Niagara.

The process of gathering provisions was not an easy one. Clark was unable to engage the services of a Captain Rough of Buffalo to supply the vessels needed for the trip and had difficulty in obtaining some of the articles ordered by Selkirk, especially guns. There was apparently no gun factory closer than Connecticut and even when procured, Clark said, their movement to the Red River District would provoke 'jealousy to prevent their being furnished'. Finally, about the middle of March, Clark got in touch with Alexander Wood at York and enlisted his aid in helping to obtain the foodstuffs for the expedition. At the same time he cautioned Selkirk, when he suggested supplying beef for the boatsmen and voyageurs, that it was almost impossible to keep it from spoiling when exposed in the open boats.

To provide the remaining provisions and boats for trans-shipment, Robert Murray of Presqu'isle (Erie, Pennsylvania) on Lake Erie was hired to work under instruction from Clark. Murray transmitted to Clark that he was having problems securing boatmen for the journey and was forced to send one of his men to Pittsburg to purchase the muskets and some of the other articles. The boats themselves were under construction, but were only designed to carry 75 barrels of provisions, so Murray suggested to Clark that, for greater safety on the open water, one vessel with a capacity of 500 to 600 barrels would be better.

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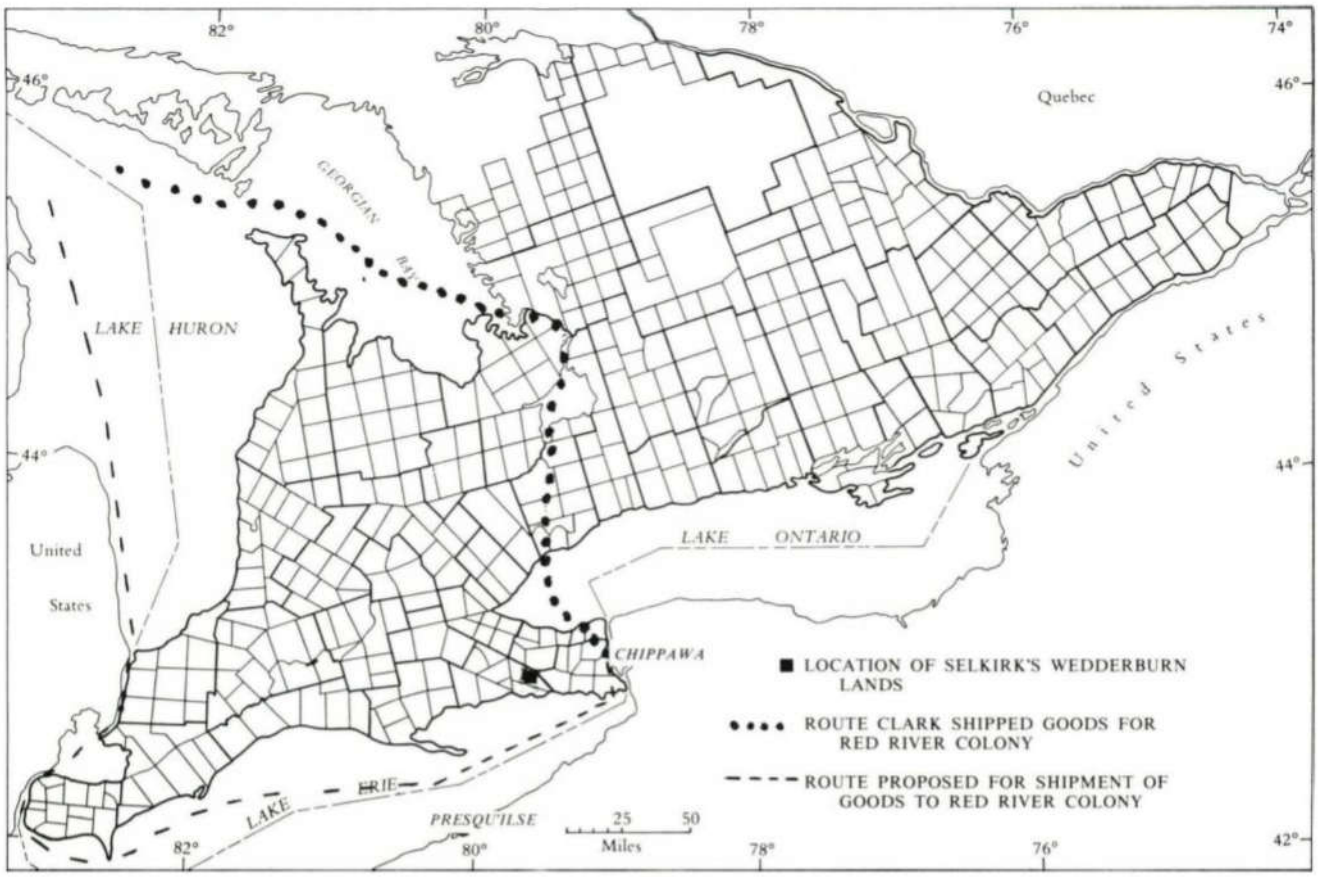

The only provisions that Clark took personal charge of ordering were tobacco, rope and carrots, all obtained at Lewiston, as well as sawmill irons which he planned to send to Ermatinger at the Sault on a charted North West Company vessel lying at Fort Erie. However, it was some of Clark's provisions that threatened to delay the expedition which was slated to leave 1 June 1816. The tobacco did not arrive at Lewiston until 23 May and the guns were also late. Rather than ship them down to Murray who might have already left, Clark sent the goods to York, to go forward via the Nottawasaga route and hopefully to catch up with the expedition at Sault Ste Marie. Selkirk had blamed Murray for the delay, but Clark vindicated him and added:

> I have taken a good deal of pains both at York and here to guard as far as I could your Lordship against disappointments in getting forward the different articles for your expedition but after all I am afraid there may some still occur . . .

The greatest problem of outfitting the Red River expedition turned out to be the cost. Murray's final bill, submitted to Clark on Selkirk's behalf, totalled $15,862.13, exclusive of freight charges which amounted to $3,726.25. Clark advised Selkirk that, although the prices were higher than expected, they were still reasonable taking into consideration 'the short notice and the scarcity of every kind of provision in this country'. None the less, Selkirk was unhappy and accused Murray of mishandling the ordering of provisions. This time, although he said 'the share of the blame lies at my own door' for the high cost of the goods, Selkirk put forth the notion that Murray was not all that thorough in doing comparative pricing. Selkirk communicated to Clark:

> At the same time he [Murray] began collecting flour for me at 14d per barrel, the current price in Buffalo was 8d. Granting that New Conneticut had been more exhausted by the war than the Genesse country, it is possible that one attentive merchant could be ignorant of what was going on at so small a distance from his own residence.

The embarkation of the supplies for the settlers of the Red River Colony did not mean the end of the Selkirk-Clark business dealings. Clark was still more or less in charge of what remained of the Baldoon farm and suggested to Selkirk that he try and sell the Baldoon lands to the Upper Canadian government. Selkirk, however, was no longer interested in entering into any negotiations about settling the townships in the area and wrote to Clark that he wanted two-thirds of the price in cash. At the same time as the Baldoon lands were under discussion, Selkirk offered Block 5 of the Grand River lands, containing some 30,800 acres, to the future Sir John Beverley Robinson who was acting on behalf of the government; but the deal fell through. No doubt strapped for money, Selkirk then sold a valuable parcel of land at the mouth of the

Grand River back to William Dickson for the original purchase price, without any interest. He quipped to Clark that he wished he was clear of all his concerns in Upper Canada 'with no other loss than that'.

In March of 1816, Clark had Charles Askin survey Block 5, or the Township of Wedderburn as it became known, for Selkirk. Selkirk was depressed after the Robinson deal had turned sour and doubted that he would ever find a purchaser for the tract in one block. He explained to Clark that the speculation had never been 'a favourite one' and that he would 'rather be quit of it, even for a low price, now that money is in demand'. Still preoccupied with the Red River Colony, Selkirk left the matter of selling the Wedderburn lands to Askin. Almost two years later, in February of 1818, Clark apprised Selkirk that Askin had done nothing about disposing of the lands. Clark felt that no purchaser could be found to buy the block and suggested that Selkirk should have the whole laid out in 200-acre lots. At the moment of writing, Clark had several purchasers ready to buy and settle on small farms. In the meantime, he continued to pay Colonel Claus the annual interest of £208 due the Indians on the mortgage.

Selkirk, at first, was not content to simply let Clark sell off the lots. Despite Baldoon's failure, he had the same grandiose settlement plans for Wedderburn once he heard that the land could be farmed. Fortunately for Selkirk, Clark's great knowledge of land affairs in Upper Canada prevailed:

> . . . about settlers for Wedderburn from Caledonia — from what I know of the Caledonia people myself I have little expectation of your Lordship benefitting by their emigration.

In the meantime, Clark had sold lands in Wedderburn to the amount of £2,600, on four years' credit plus interest and made agreements to give the purchasers deeds upon fulfillment of the bonds. Knowing that the bonds would not be punctually paid by the purchasers, the sales were still of benefit, since 'the purchasers will so chop and change [the land] that the original purchase money and interest will ultimately prove good'. Selkirk was worried about a proper road for the settlers; Clark advised the present one was usable and would be improved by the settlers on the Grand River. Until more lots were sold, Clark cautioned that the survey plan for Wedderburn should not be changed, as the settlers would make roads for themselves in the 'best situations'. Besides, the cost of surveying the road building was prohibitive and, according to Clark, ate up every prospect of profit.

A month later Clark informed Selkirk that sales of the land were still coming in and that he had received many applications for lands from Americans who had been prevented from coming by the lack of snow in January. However, he hoped that the settlers would make their appearance in the spring when the roads were better. Taking the opportunity to explain once again the strategy behind the sale of Wedderburn lands Clark communicated:

> . . . from my knowledge of the manner in which lands are generally paid in this country, the interest [on the sales] will not be paid at stated periods — yet the land is improved and often changed from one to another, which will make most of the sales eventually good — all being sold bearing interest annually on the principal sum.

By November of 1819, matters began to sour. The yearly interest on Selkirk's 30,800 acres of Grand River lands, due in September to Colonel Claus acting on behalf of the Indians, had not been paid by Clark,

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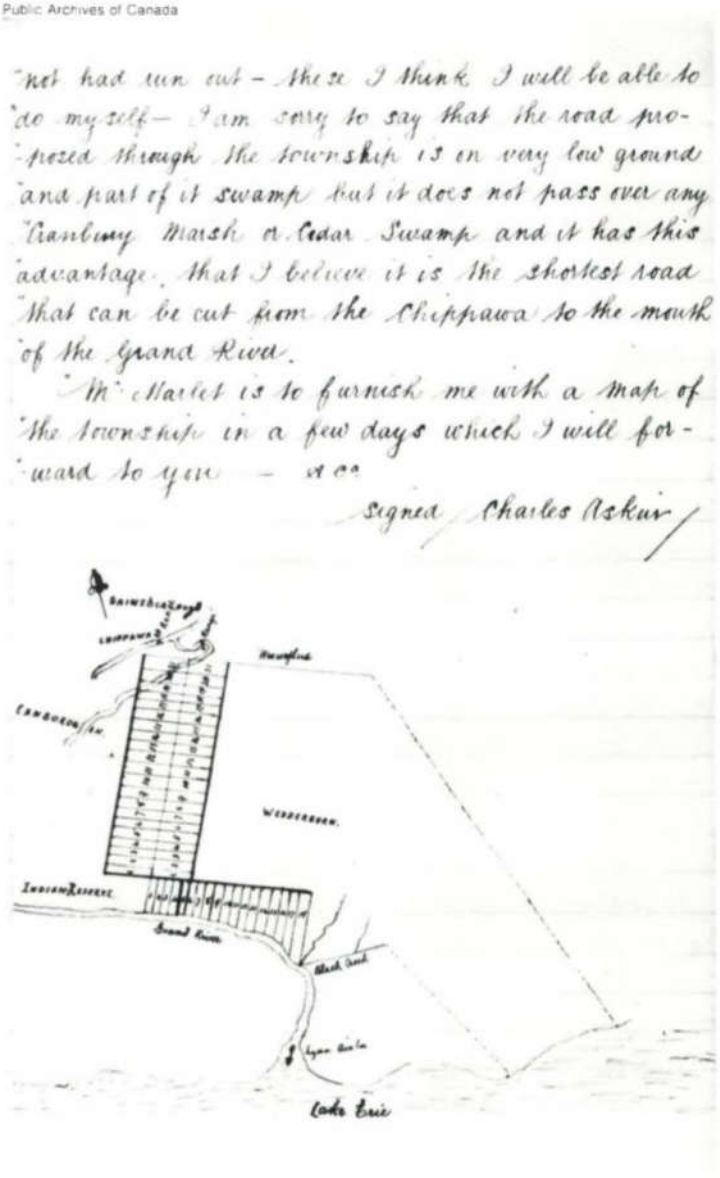

not had run out – these I think I will be able to
do myself – I am sorry to say that the road pro-
posed through the township is in very low ground
and part of it swamp but it does not pass over any
Cranberry Marsh or Cedar Swamp and it has this
advantage that I believe it is the shortest road
that can be cut from the Chippawa to the mouth
of the Grand River.
Mr Mallet is to furnish me with a map of
the township in a few days which I will for-
ward to you – &c&c
Signed Charles Askin
Lake Erie

A sketch of the Wedderburn lands by Charles Askin. From the Selkirk papers in the Public Archives of Canada.

under the guise that he was personally short of funds. The truth was that Clark, in the absence of any instructions from Selkirk, had serious doubts about whether it was worthwhile paying the interest. Clark was aware of two executions in the hands of the sheriff of the district against Selkirk's property, one in favour of William Smith, a former deputy sheriff from Sandwich, for £550.16.3 and the other in favour of Daniel McKenzie, a partner in the North West Company, for £1547.9.7.

Both McKenzie and Smith had been arrested and imprisoned on separate occasions by Selkirk and his men as a result of incidents stemming from Selkirk's conflict with the North West Company and his illegal seizure of Fort William. The two men had brought civil actions against Selkirk for false imprisonment and with the help of Attorney John Beverley Robinson, later pleaded their case successfully.

With the verdict of McKenzie and Smith's suit still pending Clark reasoned that if they were successful the sums, together with about £3,700 Selkirk still owed in principal on the purchase, would be worth more than the Wedderburn lands, a great part of which were swamp and of no value. Furthermore, Clark had sold between three and four thousand acres, payable in two or three years with annual interest. He was now having difficulty in collecting what was due on the sales, as the purchasers were aware of the executions which were a lien on the whole tract, and declined payment until they were sure that they could get an unencumbered deed for their individual lots. Therefore, Clark had not paid the interest due the Indians on the lands. Nor was Selkirk, who was in bad health and by December 1819 resting in southern France, any aid in sorting out the matter. Clark chronicled the chain of events regarding the Wedderburn lands to Lady Selkirk. He had not paid the interest due on the mortgage, as the lands could be sold in twelve months from the time McKenzie and Smith's writs had been given to the sheriff. From the mortgage and the depreciated state of the property, Clark sensed the lands would sell for a trifle and tried to console Lady Selkirk by telling her that the judgments, on which McKenzie and Smith's executions were founded, were 'a sore subject' with Selkirk's friends in Upper Canada.

On 4 September 1820, the sale of Selkirk's lands at the mouth of the Grand River took place. No one showed up to bid except William Smith who bid the tract up to the amount of his claim — £550.16.3 — at which price it was sold. Clark had attempted to induce Daniel McKenzie and his friends to bid at the sale, but they did not appear. Nor did Clark bid, fearful that the tract would fall into his hands. Smith was now answerable for the mortgage and two years' arrears of interest. In other words, Smith had gotten quit of his claim against Selkirk's heirs, Selkirk having died before the sale took place.

Despite the fact that Smith probably would be unable to hold on to his purchase for any more than a year or two, Clark displayed bitter feelings over the whole affair. Selkirk's losses on the lands he calculated at £3,000, comprised of £375 paid down at the time of purchase, £140 for surveying and miscellaneous expenses, two years of interest of £2,085, and £400 for accumulating interest. On the other hand, Clark advised Selkirk's executors that it was better to accept the loss than to go much further. The price of the tract would have been £3,475 and might have paid in time; nevertheless it would have required a good deal of money and an active man at a £150 salary, to look after settling it.

In order to help Selkirk's executors settle Daniel McKenzie's claim, Clark spent two months in Montreal trying to track McKenzie down. When he located him, McKenzie apparently was drunk every time Clark tried to meet with him and Clark commented:

> . . . there was no possibility of getting a word of sense out of him — he must soon kill himself and it is to be hoped the judgment he has against the late Lord Selkirk may die with him.

Clark had intended to have received from McKenzie a discharge of the judgment, which would have freed what lands that still appertained to Selkirk's estate in Upper Canada.

Clark's impression about Smith's purchase of the Selkirk land proved to be incorrect. Smith and Henry John Boulton, the Solicitor General, had bought the tract between them and Clark surmised that they were both sick of the bargain. Smith's judgment had cost them 600 guineas apiece and at that time they had no prospect of being able to sell the lands. Clark, when the original executions of Smith and McKenzie had been obtained, had refused to give Boulton, an attorney in the case, 'a civil answer' when he wrote to Clark respecting the lands. He now felt that since Smith and Boulton were 'of the same character', they would soon quarrel and divide the property, in which case Clark felt that separate mortgages would cancel Selkirk's old one. Boulton however eventually assumed control of the lands.

The settling of the Wedderburn lands dispute brought to a close Clark's operations with Selkirk. His association with Selkirk demonstrated the amount of respect that he had gained within fifteen years of his arrival in Upper Canada. Selkirk surely would have had Clark manage all of his affairs in Canada had he been willing, but he had surpassed the point of needing to act as a manager to another's settlement schemes. No doubt Selkirk's efforts at Red River and at Baldoon and Wedderburn Township in Upper Canada would have encountered even further difficulties had Clark not given his aid and advice. Fortunately for Selkirk, the Scottish connections remained strong with Clark throughout his life and Selkirk was able to use this to enlist Clark's expertise. ◆

THE COMING AND GOING OF THE SHAMAN: Eskimo Shamanism and Art

By Jean Blodgett. The Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg, 1979. 246 pp., illus. $12.50.

Reviewed by Mary Craig

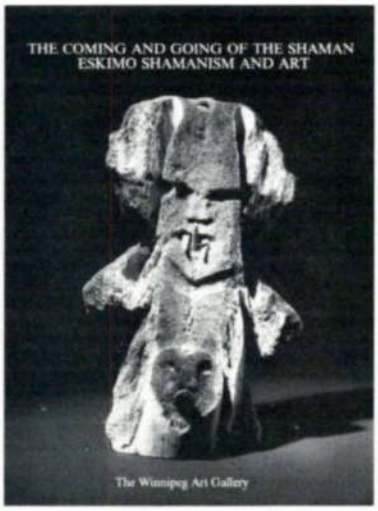
This book (modestly called a catalogue by the author) is the record of a temporary exhibition held at the Winnipeg Art Gallery in the spring of 1978. The illustrations and text provide a comprehensive overview of a fascinating subject: shamanism in Eskimo culture. The author who also assembled the exhibition has explored over eighty written sources, interviewed artists and many present-day experts, and made her own observations. The result is a scholarly distillation of just about everything written or spoken on the theme.

It is unfortunate that lack of space prevented a more thorough examination of individual pieces. Contemporary Eskimo shamanistic art rarely arrives in the South accompanied by explanatory documents because of the artists' reluctance to offend their Christian education.

First criteria for inclusion in the exhibition and catalogue were pertinence to and illustration of the subject but happily, the aesthetic appeal has not been lost in the process.

The book is divided into fifteen sections each describing a different aspect of the cultural idiosyncracy. The shaman, or *angakok* is dealt with, within the vast spirit world of the Eskimo. He (or it could be she) is a physical being with psychic powers and thus the perfect intermediary between the two worlds. Traditional Eskimo culture was aware of a universal spiritual link which modern society, having stumbled upon the ESP faculty in plants and animals, is just beginning to suspect.

Supernatural power was a preordained gift, sometimes inherited, that had to be cultivated. Neither



good nor evil in itself, it could be turned to either purpose at the will of the shaman. X-ray vision, astral travel and a 'born again' ecstasy were all rewards of a successful apprenticeship. The well-schooled shaman was historian, folklorist, doctor, priest and fortune-teller. When deserted by his helping spirits he was also a sleight-of-hand magician.

Photography, design and typography are excellent. Photographic reference from the text has been so streamlined for the reader that the switch between the two is not the chore it often is in books of this type.

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As valuable as this book is as a reference, for the collector seeking a greater depth of understanding of his collection it is a rare find.

Mary Craig has been associated with the promotion of Inuit art for fifteen years. At present she is with La Fédération des Coopératives du Nouveau-Québec in Montreal.

LOUIS 'DAVID' RIEL: 'PROPHET OF THE NEW WORLD'

By Thomas Flanagan. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1979. 216 pp. $15.00.

Reviewed by Hartwell Bowsfield

For several years Professor Flanagan has been critical of Riel biographers because they did not pay enough attention to the religious dimension of Riel's life, did not attempt to analyze his religious ideas, or used his ideas to prove his insanity. In this full-length study of Riel, Flanagan attempts to overcome these shortcomings by concentrating on what he has elsewhere called the 'essence' of the man — the religious mentality. Basing his presentation on an analysis of the Riel poetry, the diaries, and other writings Flanagan focuses not on the political figure but on the religious visionary. The biographical narrative is therefore much condensed although there is much new material on Riel's youth in Montreal and his life in Montana.

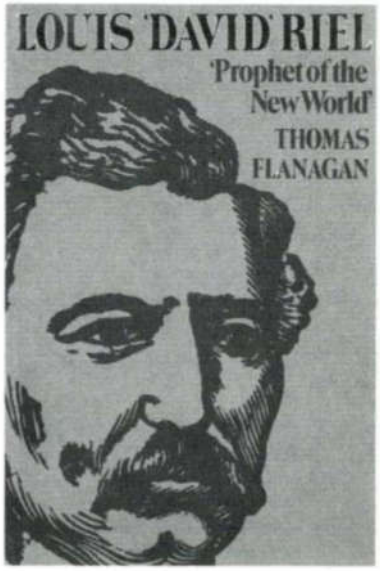
In other writings Flanagan asserted that the diaries were 'proof' that the hypothesis of Riel's mental deterioration could not be sustained. Here Flanagan is not so positive. He does not, he states, wish to challenge the insanity thesis directly but asks the reader to suspend his belief in it at least temporarily and to consider Riel's religious ideas seriously and sympathetically.

The thesis presented is that Riel's religion was a form of millenarianism and can be understood only by a comparison with other millenarian movements and with other

prophets and religious founders. This, the central theme on which Flanagan intends to base his case, is unfortunately not well developed. In a short, concluding chapter the reader is given a cursory and inadequate treatment of other millenarian movements, and lacking a fuller treatment of those movements is unable to make the serious and sympathetic comparison requested of him.

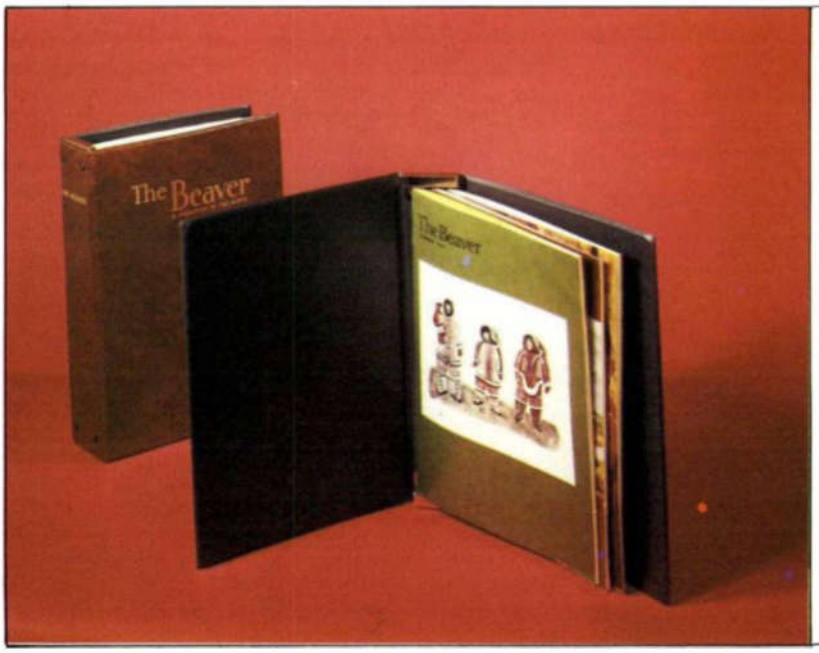
The attempt to categorize Riel's writings within the millenarian tradition is not convincing, possibly because Flanagan casts too wide a net for comparison by including the origins of Christianity, Seventh Day Adventists, German Anabaptists, followers of the Ghost Dance, Cargo Cults of the South Sea Islands, Rastafarians and Black Muslims. All of these presumably promised millenarian deliverance from domination and a period of perfect happiness on earth. All of them were within the tradition of 'nativistic resistance'.

Any attempt to categorize Riel's ideas must inevitably end in failure. Riel's ideas changed from time to time, his positions were reversed, and they were, according to Flanagan, varied so as to make them palatable to different audiences — the Catholic hierarchy, the 'illiterate métis', the Protestants. Another difficulty in dealing with the development of Riel's ideas is that the diary entries were made at widely different times and not always in chronological order.



When dealing with the social and economic conditions under which millenarian cults arise — the 'Generative Conditions' — Flanagan fails to answer the question of why a new religion did not develop in 1869-70 as it did in 1885, other than to say that the explanation is the intervening development of Riel's thinking: 'Great historical causes provide impetus, but the precise outcome of events is determined by individuals'. The concept of 'Generative Conditions' is associated with the rebellion of 1885 and is limited in Flanagan's statement to the economic crash of 1883 and the bad harvests of 1884. This surely needs to be broadened since Flanagan has devoted most of his text to tracing Riel's religious ideas to their origin in the mid-1870s. To categorize Riel according to the economic conditions of the 1880s is convenient but superficial.

To a degree Flanagan admits to failure in categorizing Riel's religious ideas with his statement that 'Riel's religion was in many ways unique, a highly personal response to the frustrations of his own life. It was a religious compensation for the glory he had sought and missed in politics.' To the psychiatrists, frustrated ambition and delusions of grandeur were symptoms of Riel's mental disorder. Flanagan does not accept this diagnosis fully. But the fact that Riel was acting in much the same way as many other millenarian leaders does not *per se* undermine that diagnosis. Flanagan, however, less positive as to his earlier thesis regarding mental deterioration, is more flexible with the suggestion that 'we need a



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The first issue of 'The Beaver' (Volume I, No. 1) was published in October 1920. In 1926 the designation was changed from 'Volume' to 'Outfit' to correspond to the term used at that time for the fiscal or trading year of the Hudson's Bay Company which ended on May 31.

Originally 'outfit' referred to the annual shipment of goods and supplies sent to the posts. Outfits were numbered from the date of incorporation of the Company in 1670. Hence, Outfit 310 of 'The Beaver' began with the Summer 1979 issue and ends with the Spring 1980 issue.

broader view of sanity to comprehend the actions of men in dark times'.

What Flanagan provides is an elaborated statement of Riel's religious ideas from the mid-1870s to 1885; ideas that Flanagan elsewhere claimed were 'carefully written', 'well organized', and 'quite lucid'. Readers, however, will remain confused and will ask which is the lucid Riel: the man who at one time called himself the 'priest-king' and 'infallible pontiff', or the man who is merely a prophet through whom God spoke, who would rise on the third day after his execution, and who considered himself the rightful heir to the throne of France. Which is the well-organized and rational Riel: the man who, when he returned to the Northwest in 1884, declared he did not wish to undertake anything except under the direction of the clergy and according to their advice, and who stressed the duty of obedience which Catholics owed their priests — or the man who developed heretical ideas to the point the clergy had to consider whether he should be denied the sacraments, and eventually sought and secured a written abjuration of his ideas? Perhaps the most accurate characterization of Riel's religion came from General Middleton who remembered it as a 'disconnected thing'.

Flanagan's selection from the religious writings of Riel is indispensable if we are to unravel the personality of the man. It is nevertheless a selection and avoids much in Riel's writing that must be labelled harshly as the hallucinations and ravings of a disordered mind. There is much of this in Riel's writing; it cannot be dismissed. It must be taken into consideration in combination with the religious ideas if we are to arrive at any understanding of the mentality of Riel — including the religious mentality.

Dr Bowsfield, professor of history, York University, is general editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society and author of 'Louis Riel — the Rebel and the Hero'.

The INDEX to Outfit 309, Summer 1978 to Spring 1979 is now available from THE BEAVER Office at Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 2R1

Price $1.50

ATLAS OF WINNIPEG

Compiled and edited by Thomas R. Weir with the assistance of Ngok-Wai Lai. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1978. 67 pp., 151 maps. $25.00.

Reviewed by D. Wayne Moodie

The *Atlas of Winnipeg* is the first study of a Canadian city in atlas form. As maps alone can do, it provides a clear and succinct overview of the geography of a major urban centre. It is thus a unique and valuable contribution to the growing literature on the complex urban environments in which the majority of Canadians now live.

Of necessity, the atlas is selective in its depiction of the geographical character of Winnipeg. The 151 maps that comprise the volume have been organized into the following nine sections: physical; historical; political and administrative; land use and transportation; demography (including language and religion); family structure; dwellings and income; occupations and educational status. Some information, such as that on climate and population, has been presented in graphs, while explanatory notes have been added to assist in the interpretation of individual maps

and, in some cases, to elucidate relationships among them.

The focus in the atlas is upon the people of the city and the majority of these maps have been produced from census material. Nonetheless, the atlas is essentially comprehensive in nature and brings together a wide array of useful information from a diversity of sources. On the map of the urban heat island, for example, Winnipeg residents may find it instructive to note that the early morning temperature on 18 January 1970, was -23° F in the city core and, as is typical in large cities, was much colder, or -35° F, on the urban periphery. Other maps that indicate the range of information mapped are those that portray the early forts on the site of Winnipeg, the growth of the built-up area 1872-1974, population distribution and change, shopping centres, internal migration, native people, French as a preferred language, women in the labour force and full-time school attendance.

Map design and the use of colour are such that major patterns are discernable almost at a glance. The atlas can thus be used readily by laymen as well as professionals and will appeal not only to planners and scholars, but also to students and all citizens concerned with the nature and quality of the urban environment.

Dr Moodie is professor of geography, University of Manitoba.

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